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THE

MINISTRY OF TAUNTON,

WITH

INCIDENTAL NOTICES OF OTHER PROFESSIONS.

BY

SAMUEL HOPKINS EMERY,
Pastor of one of its Churches.

WITH AN

INTRODUCTORY NOTICE

BY

HON. FRANCIS BAYLIES.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOLUME I.

"The glory of children are their fathers."—Prov. 17: 6.

"The Lord our God be with us, as He was with our fathers."—1 Kings 8: 57.

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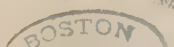

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Vol

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TO

THE MEMBERS OF THE SEVERAL CHURCHES

AND RELIGIOUS SOCIETIES

IN TAUNTON AND ITS VICINITY,

THIS

HUMBLE EFFORT TO KEEP ALIVE

THE MEMORY OF

THE FATHERS IN THE HEARTS OF THE CHILDREN,

IS AFFECTIONATELY

INSCRIBED, BY ONE OF THEIR

PASTORS.

PREFACE.

WHOEVER, in this day of "making many books," presumes to add one to their number, is bound to show good reason for so doing. That it was not for want of other employment the present work was undertaken, every pastor with the care of a pulpit and the charge of a parish can very well understand. Indeed, it has been under the constant pressure of numerous parochial duties, that these sheets have been prepared for the press. Although the materials have been accumulating for several years, their arrangement in a form to meet the public eye, is of recent date, and has cost no little labor. The toil and time requisite in such an undertaking are known only to those, who with limited facilities have been employed in gathering up the fragments of our early Ecclesiastical History, so that nothing may be lost. With our greatest pains-taking, it is comparatively little which can be rescued from oblivion. But this little is all the more precious, because it alone is left to us. The sole object of this publication is to make a slight addition to the general fund of knowledge concerning the Fathers of New-England. Their memory

should be dear to the men of this generation, increasingly dear, with the lapse of time, and the ever new developments of the value of the institutions which they were enabled, under the Divine direction, to plant in this Western World. There is no fear of recurring too often to first principles — of asking with undue warmth and earnestness for the "old paths" — of keeping too much in mind the "ancient landmarks" which these our fathers set up. It has been far from our purpose to give a partisan, sectarian, or sectional character to this work. So far as was possible the early ministers of this ancient town have given expression to their own views and feelings. They may justly claim of the thousands who have descended from the first attentive auditors of their words, a calm, and candid consideration of these same words once more heard, after so long a time, from the printed page. In this way — being dead — these venerable men yet speak.

The plan of the present work was not new with its author. Many years since Rev. Andrew Bigelow, D. D., now of Boston, then pastor of the Unitarian church in Taunton, conceived the plan which his taste and talent admirably fitted him to carry out, of collecting and placing in a permanent form the principal facts connected with the earlier church organizations in this place. The church records were not in existence save for a period of less than half a century, having mysteriously disappeared, like those of too many churches in our land. But fortunately the records of the town remained. From these records, tradition, and the retentive memories of the aged, it was hoped sufficient might be gleaned to make a volume of interest to this community. At the same time Mr. Bigelow was prosecuting his work, the Hon. Francis Baylies

had undertaken to write a history of the town which should embrace other and miscellaneous matter, which could not have failed to prove a most valuable addition to the historical collections of the State. But at the precise time when both these undertakings were partially accomplished, and the records of the town were deemed essential to their completion, the destructive fire of 1838 came, which laid in ashes a large part of the centre of the town, and with it, the early records of the town, which were lying with comparatively worthless matter in a frail Printing office. If the irreparable loss could only teach towns to provide a place of safe deposit for such valuable documents, in some fire-proof building, the bereavement of a single town would prove a most profitable lesson to the remainder.

With such meagre materials as the loss of church and town records has left, the present work has been undertaken and in a very imperfect manner, prosecuted. If the compiler has done what he could in the circumstances, a lenient community will not, perhaps, charge him with presumption in asking its kind consideration. It was far from the author's purpose to make a book, when his acquaintance with the writings of these early ministers commenced. But having made frequent reference to them from time to time in the pulpit, and having been from various quarters solicited to give specimens of their productions to the public, it did not seem proper to refuse.

He is greatly indebted to the many kind friends, who have sanctioned and encouraged the proceeding, by a prompt and full reply to letters of inquiry, and such a communication of facts, as greatly enhance the interest and profitableness of the work. Their names will appear in connection with their communications. It need not be

added, that from the Hon. Francis Baylies,* suggestions and statements have been derived which have proved of important service. His is one of many names which have contributed to the distinction of a town, not only early founded, but early known as the birth-place or adopted residence of some of the most eminent men in this or in any other State.

Taunton, October, 1852.

* Since the above was written and in type, Mr. Baylies has departed this life, thus swelling the list of remarkable men, whose decease has rendered the present year one of painful interest. He died the 28th of October, 1852, aged sixty-nine years and twelve days, having been born Oct. 16, 1783, and not 1784, as it is erroneously printed in the notice of Mr. Baylies, on page 253, of the 1st volume. It is to be considered a Providential thing, that the individual so eminently qualified to assist in this effort to revive the memory of the departed dead, should live to see it commenced and so nearly completed. The last use Mr. Baylies ever made of his pen was in connection with this book.

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INTRODUCTORY NOTICE.

The clergy were the principal instruments in keeping alive the spirit and enterprise of the English race in the wilds of America. Nor did they confine themselves to their ecclesiastical functions. Their influence was felt in the civil affairs of Government, and even in the transactions of ordinary life. Hugh Peters, the minister of Salem, gave the first impulse to foreign commerce, and he labored with indefatigable perseverance to open to his followers that road to wealth. They were the most trusted physicians and the most trusted lawyers in the communities of their respective churches. Danforth, an early minister of Taunton, may in fact be called the principal, if not the only physician and lawyer, of that town. Sometimes they appeared in the field and discovered great martial prowess in the wars with the Indians. Newman, an early minister of Rehoboth, pursued with spirit and success even Philip himself when flying from Pocasset to the Nipmuck country. They made their way through all the hardships, dangers and disasters of war with the Bible and the Musket. Providence was set on fire, the people fled, but Roger Williams remained, and while his town was blazing around him, he reproached the savages for their cruelty and wickedness, and they spared him, for they knew, they said, that he was a good man.

They have been accused of bigotry, and the accusation is not without some foundation. Yet there can be little doubt of their sincerity. Their bigotry sprung from a fiery zeal, in many instances no doubt mistaken and misdirected, to compel the com-

munities in which they resided to believe in doctrines which they regarded as essential to their eternal salvation, rather than from spite, envy, malice, hatred and uncharitableness, which in modern times corrode the heart and poison the very fountains of the social sympathies.

In this notice we have been led into remarks which perhaps, have but slight connection with the subject which we propose to present at large, and which is the Ecclesiastical History of the ancient town of Taunton. Yet we think that some light may be thrown on our own ecclesiastical history by showing in a desultory manner, the spirit of the times in which the Shepherds of the flocks opened the forests of New-England to the husbandmen of England, and introduced the laws, civilization and the arts of the parent country into the wilds of America, and whose influences are now felt in the extremest borders of this vast Republic, and have opened the sacred fountain of the Gospel of Christ even on the shores of the Pacific Ocean. It is not too much to say that it was the Clergy of New-England,* who led the way to the attainment of these mighty results; such men as Wilson and Cotton of Boston, Higginson and Roger Williams of Salem, Richard Mather of Dorchester, his distinguished son, Increase Mather, President of Harvard College, *his* still more distinguished son, Cotton Mather, superior in learning to his father and grandfather, but deficient in what they abundantly possessed, — common sense, — and many others.

Williams was the founder of the State of Rhode Island, the friend and associate of Sir Henry Vane, the Governor of Massachsetts, and one of the greatest men of his times, and of his rival, John Winthrop, also Governor of Massachusetts, and to him even the dark and suspicious Cromwell, and his son who succeeded him in the Protectorate of England, gave entire confidence. Williams was the best expositor of the science of Government, not only in the times in which he lived, but lessons, even now, might be taken from his theories, from which modern statesmen might profit.

* Note A. Appendix to Chapter I.

Chauncy, the second President of Harvard College, was called from his parish in Plymouth Colony to take charge of that renowned seminary of learning, and Dunster, the first President, returned to Scituate, and frequently exercised his clerical gifts.

Amongst these great men, the two first Ministers of Taunton, Hooke and Street, held no undistinguished place. The sermons of Hooke, who was a cousin of Oliver Cromwell, and who was the confidential friend and adviser of that great man, particularly when the crown of Great Britain was offered to him by Parliament, are still extant; and the determined spirit, bold and energetic eloquence which characterized him, are apparent in his works. Street, also, was one of the ablest writers and politicians of his day. Hooke, who left Taunton for New-Haven, went to England during the Protectorate of Cromwell, and Street succeeded him at New-Haven, and as a statesman discovered great talent on the question of the junction of the ancient Colonies of New-Haven and Connecticut.

In returning to ancient times we are compelled to remark, that the first original instrument, or organic law which would now be called a Constitution, was conceived and adopted as such, in the harbor of Cape Cod, in which the principle that the *majority* should rule was recognized. This principle is at the bottom of all our institutions of Government, the basis of all, which without it are mere forms, destitute of all efficiency. And thus to the Pilgrims of Plymouth we must look for the original principles of all our modern Constitutions. It was through them, and them alone, we were freed from all feudal obligations and the pride and influence of birth; they it was who gave the first sanction to the equal rights of mankind.

THE MINISTRY OF TAUNTON.

CHAPTER I.

TAUNTON. ITS SETTLEMENT AND ORIGINAL CHURCH ORGANIZATION.

It was only about six months after the first fire was kindled in the forest of Patuxet, or New-Plymouth, in mid-winter, by Gov. Carver and just one hundred others,* who had agreed to call him the leader of their expedition, that two of their number, Stephen Hopkins and Edward Winslow, (afterwards governor,) undertook their long and perilous journey of more than forty miles from Patuxet to Packinokik, "sometimes called Sowams, afterwards Mount Hope, and since named Bristol."† The object of that great undertaking was one which reflects the highest honor on the founders of the colony, and which is worthy of being remembered by their posterity. It should silence those who are wont to cast aspersions on the fair name of the *fathers* of New-England, as if they were *cruel* and unchristian in their treatment of the people they found here. The treaty with Massasoit, entered into the March

* Note B.

† Prince's New-England Chronology, vol. i. p. 102.

following the landing at Plymouth, sufficiently well indicates the peaceful policy of the Pilgrims.*

It was the design of Winslow and Hopkins in their visit to Mount Hope, so soon after the ratification of that treaty, to assure "the greatest commander amongst the savages" of the good will of the English, in the very words of one of the ambassadors, which have come down to us — "to continue the league of peace and friendship — to make satisfaction for some conceived injuries." And what was the great injury which these honest men took a journey of forty miles through a thick wilderness to confess to the Sachem of Packinokik, and, if possible, to repair? Let Edward Winslow speak for himself, and for his company: "Whereas at our first arrival at Paomet (called by us Cape Cod) we found there corn buried in the ground, and finding no inhabitants, but some graves of dead new buried, took the corn, resolving if ever we could hear of any that had right thereunto, to make satisfaction to the full for it, yet since we understood the owners thereof were fled for fear of us, our desire was either to pay them with the like quantity of corn, English meal, or any other commodities we had to pleasure them withal; requesting him that some one of his men might signify so much unto them, and we would content him for his pains." Now if these men were not honest, and careful of the rights of others, where in the wide world will you find those more so? It was in this journey of peace and amity, in the month of June, 1621, under the direction of Squanto, or Tisquantum, a friendly Indian, who could speak English,† that the territory of the Indian Cohannet, now called Taunton, was first traversed

* Note C. † Note D.

by the feet of Englishmen.* The route of Winslow and Hopkins from Plymouth to Mount Hope lay directly through the town. Their account† of the region, as it appeared to their view two hundred and thirty years ago, cannot fail to be interesting to the thousands who now live on the borders of the stream which they followed in its course from Patuxet to Mount Hope Bay. Again, two years after, Winslow repeated the journey, having for his companion one John Hampden, then on a visit to the colony — desiring "much to see the country," by Dr. Belknap and others ‡supposed to have been the veritable John, who afterwards acted so conspicuous a part in the stirring scenes of the Revolution which cost not only Charles the First, but Hampden his life. There is a sad pleasure in the thought that he who returned to England to strike an effectual blow for liberty, to die in the noble attempt to obtain a free constitution for a land which he loved more than life, once roamed through the woods of Nemasket — forded these streams — rested on their banks, and made memorable the spot he once stood upon in this *New* World, by his deeds of daring in the *Old*.

What other excursions were made by whites in the direction of Taunton, or who besides savage tribes, traversed

* Whether the Northmen in the tenth century, 500 years before Christopher Columbus was ever heard of, left their handwriting on the "Dighton Rock," (which however at present lies in a part of Dighton, known as Assonet Neck, and included in Berkley,) is a question, which I leave for those who profess more learning in such matters, to settle.

† Note E.

‡ The supposition here made has been declared groundless by some. But it is a well ascertained fact that for the period of time which his absence in this country would cover, there is nothing heard or known of John Hampden in England. And what is more probable than that one of his sympathy and generous impulse should wish to make the acquaintance of kindred spirits in New-England.

its forests till 1637, we know not. Tradition says, there were adventurous, isolated settlers, as early as 1626, but of this we may well doubt. "For twelve years after the commencement of the settlement of Plymouth," remarks Mr. Baylies, "that town constituted the whole colony." It was not till 1636 Satuit or Scituate was incorporated, and in the year following, Duxbury. The same year, (1637,) whilst Hooker and Stone, the ministers of Newtown, in the Massachusetts colony, which was fast filling up, are on their way with their whole church and congregation to Hartford, a distance of a hundred miles, through a trackless wilderness, with "no guide but their compass, no covering but the heavens," driving before them one hundred and sixty cattle, and subsisting on the milk of cows; whilst Davenport, Eaton and their company, finding no room in Salem, Charlestown, Boston or Cambridge, are preparing to follow and lay the foundation of New-Haven; Dorchester, likewise, has some choice spirits, whose eye is turned towards Cohannet. What renders this latter movement the more remarkable is the fact—that *a woman* led the way—"dux fœmina facti." Winthrop calls her "a gentlewoman—an ancient maid—one Miss Poole." He says:—"she went late thither, and endured much hardship and lost much cattle." Mr. Savage, in a note on Winthrop, remarks: "she was probably encouraged in her perilous undertaking by the Rev. William Hook, who was the spiritual guide of the new settlement." That it was "perilous," and required no common nerve to undertake it will appear, if you consider that the nearest settlement on the east was Plymouth, at a distance of twenty-six miles—and in the intervening forests the Nemasket and Tetiquet tribes claimed dominion; that on the west, was

nothing but the feeble settlement of Roger Williams at Providence; whilst the numerous, powerful and barbarous Narragansetts roamed free, ready any moment to devour; that on the north, between Dorchester and Cohannet, were yet other tribes, as the Punkapoques and Neponsets, which completely shut them in from other colonists, and left them at the mercy of merciless men, accustomed to deeds of blood. She was indeed a lion-hearted lady who not only left England, where with ample means at her command, she might have enjoyed a whole lifetime a dignified ease at her own quiet fireside in the town of Taunton, Somersetshire, but when arrived hither, coveted not the quietest, safest spot, nay, penetrated the dark, untrodden wilderness, and planted a *new* church, miles from any human habitation. I do not see why Mr. Baylies has not ascribed the true motive to the "virgin mother" of the town, when he says: "It was the ardent love of religion — an enthusiastic desire of planting another church in the American wilderness which impelled this pious Puritan lady to encounter all the dangers, and all the hardships of forming a settlement in the midst of the Indians." She was not alone in her feeling. The same sentiment led to the settlement of other towns in the Plymouth and Massachusetts colonies, to the settlement of New-Haven and Hartford. Thus the author of the Historical Memoir of the Colony of New-Plymouth well remarks in justification of himself in occupying so much space with the ecclesiastical affairs of the towns: "It must be recollected that Plymouth as well as Massachusetts was settled by churches as such, and in such communities, the minister or pastor is of course the chief personage."*

* Hon. F. Baylies — preface to 2d part, 2d volume of Hist. Memoir.

Elizabeth Pool made a satisfactory purchase of the place —called "the Tetiquet purchase"* A confirmatory deed bearing date July 20, 1686, states "that Mrs. Elizabeth Pool, formerly of Taunton, did for and in behalf of the said town of Taunton purchase the lands of Tittiquet, in the year one thousand six hundred and thirty-seven, and that the right owners of the said lands did make sale thereof to the said Mrs. Elizabeth Pool as aforesaid and received pay of her for it." So that Mr. Baylies is right in saying that "she purchased her lands by giving a fair equivalent before occupation."†

The first or "Tetiquet purchase"‡ included the present towns of Taunton, Raynham and Berkley. In 1668 there was an additional purchase called the *North* Purchase,§ including the present towns of Norton, Mansfield and Easton. In 1672 a *third* purchase called the South Purchase.‖ which is now the town of Dighton. In 1680 Assonet Neck was annexed to the town. The earlier ministers of the town preached to a congregation gathered from these remote parts.¶

In the absence of church records, the loss of which we may well deplore, there is room for conjecture only as to the number and the names of the church, which in 1637 Elizabeth Pool, under the direction of the Great Head of the Church, planted in this then wilderness place. The following notice of it from one Thomas Lechford, who visited this country about that time, and on his return to England in 1642, published a pamphlet entitled "Plain

* So called, because bought of the Tetiquet tribes, living on Taunton river. They are also called the Tittiquet and Titticut tribes, according to the varying orthography of the name of the river on which they lived.

† Note F. ‡ Note G. § Note H.

‖ Note I. ¶ Note J.

Dealing or Newes from New-England," is of no great worth. The writer, speaking of Taunton, says: "Cohannet, alias, Taunton is in Plymouth patent. There is a church gathered of late, and some ten or twenty of the church, Master Hooke, Pastor, Master Street, Teacher."* The statement is worthless, for that Taunton was in Plymouth patent we know; and that Master Street was associated with Master Hooke in the charge of the church, we do also know — and whether ten or twenty was its original number, and what were their names, is just what we should like to know. We may rest assured however that Elizabeth Pool† and Richard Williams‡ were members; for if the first was the founder, the last "may be considered the father of the town."§ Born in 1599, he lived till 1692 — during nearly an entire century. His family was numerous, and his descendants almost without number. The blood of a Cromwell coursed through his veins. He is pronounced by Mr. Baylies, who is a descendant of the fifth generation, "a rigid Puritan." I find an interesting fact inserted in a note of the Historical Memoir, which is worthy of a place in this connection: "When blind and deaf from age, he was accustomed to attend public worship, saying, 'that although he could neither see nor hear, yet it was consoling to his feelings to know that he was present, while the people of God were at their worship.'‖ We may arrive at the names of yet others who probably constituted this church in the wilderness; for if none could be admitted to "the freedom of the body politic but such as were

* Note K. † Note L. ‡ Note M.

§ Baylies Hist. Mem. vol. 1, p 284.

‖ For this fact Mr. Baylies informs me he was indebted to Mr. Samuel Dean of East Taunton.

church members,"* the list of *freemen* from Taunton will be in fact a list of its male church members. On the fourth of December, 1638, Mr. William Pool,† Mr. John Gilbert, Sen.,‡ Mr. Henry Andrews,§ John Strong,‖ John Dean,¶ Walter Dean,** and Edward Case,†† were made freemen of the Plymouth Colony. Previous to 1640, Mr. Richard Smith, William Parker, John Smith, Mr. Thomas Farwell, Mr. David Corwithy, Mr. Holloway, Mr. Nicholas Street, Thomas Gilbert, Thomas Cooke, John Richmond, Hezekiah Hoar, Richard Paull, Hugh Rossiter, Francis Street, John Gingell, and William Scadding, were freemen.‡‡ Thus we have the names of not less than twenty-four men, who doubtless belonged to the original church of Taunton, and if there were as many women, it was certainly a goodly company to covenant together on the banks of the Tetiquet. The precise spot where they built their first meeting-house — its size, and outward or inward aspect, who of us can tell?§§ There is room here also for conjecture. We may suppose it to have been just where its venerable successor of the third generation stood. We can readily conceive of it as a plain, unadorned structure, without bell, belfry, steeple, or spire — a mere "log-hut" of the most moderate dimen-

* Note N. † Note O. ‡ Note P.
§ Note Q. ‖ Note R. ¶ Note S.
** Note T. †† Note U. ‡‡ Note V.

§§ The only notice concerning the first meeting-house I have been able to find, is the following quoted by Mr. Baylies from the early Records: "In 1647, the calf pasture was sold to Henry Andrews, for building the meeting-house." This of course was the original meeting-house of the town. When it was commenced, or when finished, or any further particulars concerning it, I know not. My friend, Mr. Reed, who has been examining large quantities of papers left by Brigadier General Godfrey, has fortunately fallen upon the following notice concerning the second place of worship.

"May 19, 1729. This day we began to raise the meeting-house in

sions, and yet in the esteem of our devout, God-fearing fathers—"the House of *God*"—sacred to His worship. Within its walls might have been seen gathered every Sabbath and in all weathers, no mean men, listening to the teachings of two of the most eminent divines; to one of whom it is proposed to introduce the reader, in our next chapter, as *the first* Taunton Minister.

Taunton"—which paper appears to be in the hand writing of John Godfrey, the father of the General. It was built, as I have been informed, by Samuel, the son of Richard Williams, with two galleries, according to the custom of the times.

The third meeting-house was built in 1789, by Mr. Demonds of Scituate; is at present occupied by the Spring Street Society, and in it are heavy oak timbers, which were in the second, and probably in the first church edifice of the place. The location of the second and third, and probably of the first meeting-house was not far from the beautiful site of the present Unitarian stone church.

* The floating rumor that one Francis Doughty ministered to a few straggling settlers before the settlement from Dorchester in 1637, I have not deemed it best to regard. Even Mr. Baylies, who supposes it "not unlikely that Doty might have assisted in religious exercises amongst the few original settlers of Taunton," says "William Hooke must be considered the first pastor of this ancient church."

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER ONE.

Note A. Page 10.

There is an admirable article on the early literature, and literary men of New-England, from the pen of Mr. Baylies, near the close of the first part of his Historical Memoir of Plymouth Colony, which I have obtained his consent to transcribe, as supplementary to his notice of this work, and which is commended to the careful perusal of those, who are in the habit of depreciating the order of mind that was engaged in laying the foundations of this christian commonwealth — more particularly, of the primitive clergy of New-England.

"The early literature of New-England has been unjustly depreciated. The notion has been too common that the puritans, although pious, sober, and moral, were illiterate and ignorant. It is true their circumstances were unfavorable to the cultivation of learning. They were compelled to work on the lands for their daily subsistence, and not only to cultivate, but to reclaim them — to be watchful, as well as industrious, for they were surrounded on all sides by savages. Before 1638, there was not a printing press in the American colonies. One was then introduced and one Daye was employed as a printer, who confined his labors however to the printing of the freeman's oath, an almanack, and an edition of the New-England Psalms. In 1639, this press passed into the hands of Samuel Green, who was the first permanent printer in America.

"At this period, (1639,) the College at Cambridge (which has since assumed the respectable, and now venerated name of Harvard,) was founded. This beginning, was made within nine years from the settlement of Massachusetts. The first degrees were conferred in 1642.

"The two first presidents of this College were Henry Dunster, and Charles Chauncy, who both resided at Scituate in the colony of Plymouth. Mr. Dunster (having embraced the principles of the Anabaptists,) although a man of learning, was dismissed, and Mr. Chauncy, to whom the same objection existed, yet being a man of transcendant literary attainments, was appointed his successor. It is believed however, that the peculiar notions of Dr. Chauncy on this subject were confined to the mode of admission to the church only, and did not extend to the withholding of the rite of baptism to infants.

"Mr. Smith the first pastor of Plymouth, is not represented as having made much proficiency in literature, but his deficiencies being discovered, he was rejected both at Salem and Plymouth; but it must be recollected that during his stay at Plymouth the people were constant attendants on the preaching of Roger Williams, John Norton, and Dr. Chauncy.

"Roger Williams had been educated at the university of Oxford, and was for a time a pupil of the illustrious Coke, and a minister of the established church in England.

"John Lothrop, (Lathrop and Laythorp) the first minister both of Scituate and Barnstable, was distinguished for his learning. He too was educated at Oxford, and is mentioned by Anthony Wood. Neal also represents him as a man of great learning. He held the living of Egerton, in Kent, which he abandoned and became the second pastor of the first independent or congregational church in England.

"President Chauncy, the second pastor of Scituate, was eminently distinguished in England. He was educated in the school of Westminster, and in the university of Cambridge, and was the intimate friend of archbishop Usher, the first scholar in Europe. From his great knowledge of Hebrew he had been chosen its professor at the English university of Cambridge, and such was his accurate and critical knowledge of the Greek, that after he had relinquished the Hebrew professorship, he was chosen Greek professor at the same university. He was settled in the church at Ware, in England, and fell (like Loth-

rop) under the persecution of Archbishop Laud. In Latin he expressed himself familiarly, with great fluency, ease, and elegance.

"John Norton who also preached at Plymouth, was educated at Cambridge, (England,) and was one of the first scholars of that University. He was afterwards the curate of Starford, (Hertfordshire,) his native place. He was urged to accept a fellowship at the University, which he declined. He left Plymouth and was settled at Ipswich, and afterwards succeeded Cotton at Boston. He wrote (according to Dr. Eliot, 'in pure elegant Latin,') an answer to the questions propounded by Apollonius to the divines of New-England touching church government. Fuller, in his church history, says of this: 'Of all the authors I have perused, none to me was more *informative* than Mr. John Norton, one of no less learning than modesty.' Mr. Norton was concerned in the revision of the Cambridge Platform. He wrote the 'Meritorious Price of Man's Redemption,' and also a work of great celebrity, entitled, 'The Orthodox Evangelist.' His life of Cotton was republished in England. He also wrote a controversial tract against the Quakers, and a letter in Latin to Mr. Drury who had undertaken the pacification of the reformed churches.

"Ralph Partridge, the first minister of Duxbury, also received a University education in England, and was a minister of the established church there.

"Hooke, the minister of Taunton, as a writer, was far above mediocrity. He is spoken of by all his contemporaries as a learned man. His two principal works were entitled 'The Privileges of the Saints on Earth,' and 'The Slaughter of the Witnesses.' His letter to Governor Winthrop is written in a style by no means inelegant.

"Street, the second minister of Taunton, is always mentioned with respect as a man of learning.

"Marmaduke Matthews, the first minister of Yarmouth, had some learning but was weak and eccentric.

"Governor Bradford, and Governor Edward Winslow, although not liberally educated, were authors.

"Governor Bradford was educated to husbandry, and afterwards (while at Leyden) learned the trade of a silk dyer: yet he well understood the Greek, Latin, and Hebrew languages, particularly the last. His prose writings are above mediocrity, and the antiquarian will never cease to regret the loss of his precious manuscript history of the Plymouth colony from its commencement to the year 1646. He attempted poetry, but the muses were woo'd in vain: — his verses are prosaic, rough, and inelegant.

"Governor Winslow was one of the best writers in New-England, and his book entitled 'Good News from New-England,' is still read with satisfaction.

"Samuel Fuller was an eminent and skilful physician.

"The 'New-England's Memorial,' by Secretary Morton, although principally a compilation from Bradford's history, is still a standard work, and has passed through four or five editions.

"In the enumeration of the writers and men of learning in the Plymouth colony, the Rev. Samuel Newman, the first minister of Rehoboth, deserves a place, although he did not come into the colony until after the termination of this period of its history. He arrived in New-England in 1638, and after remaining some time at Dorchester, removed to Weymouth, of which place he was an early minister, and from there he removed with many of his society to Seekonk, which place he called Rehoboth. He was educated at the university of Oxford and had been a minister of the established church in England. He was a man of great learning and an indefatigable student. His great work, the concordance of the Bible, (the basis of the celebrated Cambridge concordance, printed in England,) was completed at Rehoboth, and so intent was this learned and pious man upon this work, that being destitute of other lights, he wrote in the evenings by the light of pine knots.

"William Morell, the Episcopalian clergyman of Gorges' settlement at Wessagusset, (afterwards Weymouth,) as early as

1623, wrote a poem on New-England, in classical and elegant Latin.

"Mr. Cushman's essay or sermon on Divine Love, is a work of uncommon merit. Although Mr. Robinson never came to America, yet he deserves mention amongst the writers of the Plymouth colony. He was a man of uncommon argumentative powers, and maintained a controversy on doctrines with great ability against one of the most distinguished and learned professors of the university of Leyden. His farewell sermon is an evidence not only of his ability, but of a liberality far transcending the bigotry of the age and would do no discredit to these times.

"Brewster, a man of no pretensions, but a good scholar, was well versed in the ancient languages, and was educated at one of the English Universities.

"Governor Prence, although illiterate himself, cherished a deep respect for learning and learned men.

"In Massachusetts, Wilson, the grand nephew of Grindal, archbishop of Canterbury, and first pastor of the Boston church; — Cotton, the first teacher of the same church; — Higginson, the first teacher at Salem; — Hugh Peters, the second pastor of Salem; — John Eliot, the first teacher of the church at Roxbury; — Hooker, the first pastor of the churches at Cambridge and Hartford in Connecticut, and the founder of Hartford; — Sherman, an early minister at Watertown; — Bulkley, the first minister of Concord; — Allen, an early minister of Charlestown; — Nathaniel Rogers, the first pastor of the church at Ipswich; — Symmes, another pastor of Charlestown; — Nathaniel Ward, author of the Simple Cobbler of Agawam and a pastor of the church at Ipswich, had all been educated at the English university at Cambridge. Some of them had been fellows and professors, and nearly all, ministers of the established church.

"Richard Mather, an early minister of Dorchester, Thomas Cobbet another pastor of the church in Ipswich, and John Davenport the first minister of New-Haven, and afterwards the successor of Norton at Boston, had all been educated at the University of Oxford.

"Skelton, the first pastor of the Salem church, had been a clergyman of the established church in Lincolnshire. Mr. Weld of Roxbury, and George Phillips the first pastor of the church at Watertown, had also been clergyman of the established church in England.

"Thomas Parker, the first pastor of the Newbury church, had been educated at Dublin under the care of Archbishop Usher. He spoke Greek, Latin, and Hebrew, as familiarly as English. James Noyes, the first teacher of that church;—John Allen the first minister of Dedham, and William Thompson the minister of Braintree, were all excellent scholars. Ezekiel Rogers the first pastor of the church at Rowley, was a man of considerable learning.

"Ezekiel Cheever, a schoolmaster in Boston, was a distinguished Latin scholar.

"Theophilus Eaton, the first governor of New-Haven, although a merchant, was a good scholar.

"Giles Firmin, the ejected minister of Stratford, (in England,) was educated at Cambridge, and was eminent for his learning. In New-England, he was known as a consummate physician, but held no ministerial office.

"John Fisk, also, a physician and a preacher, was educated at Emanuel College, (Cambridge,) and ejected from his living in England.

"Edward Norris, who preceded Hugh Peters at Salem, was a political writer of great celebrity.

"William Torrey, of Weymouth, was a distinguished scholar and an author.

"William Pynchon, the founder both of Roxbury and Springfield, was a man of extraordinary learning.

"To these may be added John Winthrop, the governor of Massachusetts, an able lawyer and jurist, and as a writer far above mediocrity. Sir Henry Vane, although a fanatic, was a man of learning, and fond of learning.

"John Winthrop, jun., an early governor of Connecticut, was one of the founders of the Royal Society, and one of the first

philosophers of the age: — he was the friend and correspondent of Boyle and Bishop Wilkins.

"To this catalogue may be added the names of several others.

"The period during which these illustrious men flourished, extends from 1620 to 1640. Plymouth had been settled twenty years, Massachusetts eleven, and New-Haven and Connecticut two or three. The whole population of these colonies in 1640, probably did not exceed six or eight thousand souls. Yet, where in an equal promiscuous population, at that period, could have been found so many men, distinguished for literature and of learned educations? It is true that their writings and teachings were generally on subjects of polemic divinity, but amongst them were those who had attended to the sciences, sound mathematicians, astronomers and learned physicians. Their poetry partook of the faults of the age, the faults of Cowley and all that class of poets denominated by Dr. Johnson, metaphysical; it was harsh, quaint, full of conceits, allegorical and pedantic; but it must be recollected that this was at a period long before the era of Dryden and Pope, who, first taught their countrymen the art of harmonizing English verse. Dramatic poetry, which alone redeems the taste of the English nation at that period, was held in utter abomination by the puritans; and that delightful department which fictitious works in prose have now naturalized in English literature, had not been explored or even dreamed of. The style of historical writing was equal to the home standard.

"As classical scholars, our pilgrim fathers have found no rivals amongst us, even in modern times: — they were familiar with the Latin and Greek, and all the clergy wrote those languages with ease and elegance and spoke them fluently, and in the Hebrew they were profound critics.

"In controversial divinity, logic, and metaphysics, they were unrivalled, and it is to be lamented that such prodigious intellectual powers were wasted in the discussion of some mystic point in theology, now uninteresting, and always unimportant.

"Upon the whole, when we compare our classical acquirements

with those of our forefathers, we have no reason to be proud. Few can be found at this day in this great nation, who are the equals of Chauncy, Wilson, Cotton, Hooker, Bulkley, Parker, Lothrop, Norton, or Rogers.

"Devoted as these great men were to the cause of learning, there was one benefactor to that cause deserving of more gratitude than either, and he was John Harvard, an early minister of Charlestown, who by bequeathing in his will nearly eight hundred pounds to found a college, established that venerable university which now perpetuates his name."

NOTE. B. Page 13.

"THERE were just 101," remarks Mr. Prince in his New-England Chronology, page 85, "who sailed from Plymouth in England, and just as many arrived at Cape Cod Harbor." One individual died on the passage, and one was born who was named Oceanus. Mr. Prince, who had access to Gov. Bradford's folio manuscript, and is generally regarded as the most accurate of compilers, has given a corrected list of the forty-one signers of the compact entered into on board the Mayflower with their titles and the number in their respective families. His catalogue is here inserted, with the hope of still more indelibly impressing their names upon the memory and of embalming their rare virtue in the heart of a grateful posterity.

Governor Bradford, as Mr. Prince observes, modestly omits the title of Mr. to his own name, which he ascribes to several others. The names in italics indicate those who died before the end of March, 1621.

Mr.	John Carver,	8	
	William Bradford,	2	
Mr.	Edward Winslow,	5	
Mr.	William Brewster,	6	
Mr.	Isaac Allerton,	6	
Capt.	Miles Standish,	2	
	John Alden,	1	
	John Turner,	3	
	Francis Eaton,	3	
Mr.	*James Chilton*,	3	
	John Crackston,	2	
	John Billington,	4	
	Moses Fletcher,	1	
	John Goodman,	1	

Mr. Samuel Fuller, ...2
Mr. *Christopher Martin*,..4
Mr. *William Mullins*, ...5
Mr. *William White*,.....5
Mr. Richard Warren,.....1
John Howland,*
Mr. Stephen Hopkins, ...8
Edward Tilly,.....4
John Tilly,.....3
Francis Cook, ...2
Thomas Rogers,.....2
Thomas Tinker,.....3
John Ridgdale,.....2
Edward Fuller,.....3

Degory Priest,.....1
Thomas Williams,...1
Gilbert Winslow, ...1
Edmund Margeson, ..1
Peter Brown, ...1
Richard Butteridge,..1
George Soule,†.....
Richard Clarke, ...1
Richard Gardiner, ...1
John Allerton, ...1
Thomas English,....1
Edward Dotey,‡.....
Edward Leister,‡....

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Note C. Page 14.

In Morton's New-England Memorial, page 54, we find the following summary of what has well been called "a league of friendship" between Massasoit and the English:

"I. That neither he nor any of his, should injure or do hurt to any of their people.

II. That if any of his did any hurt to any of theirs, he should send the offender that they might punish them.

III. That if anything were taken away from any of theirs, he should cause it to be restored, and they should do the like to his.

IV. That if any did unjustly war against him, they would aid him; and if any did war against them, he should aid them.

V. That he should send to his neighbor confederates, to inform them of this, that they might not wrong them, but might be likewise comprised in the conditions of peace.

* Howland was of Gov. Carver's family.
† Soule was of Gov. Winslow's family.
‡ Both of Stephen Hopkins' family servants.

VI. That when his men came to them upon any occasion, they should leave their arms, (which were then bows and arrows,) behind them.

VII. Lastly, that so doing, their Sovereign Lord, King James, would esteem him as his friend and ally.

All of which he liked well, and withal at the same time acknowledge himself content to become the subject of our Sovereign Lord, the King aforesaid, his heirs and successors, and gave unto them all the lands adjacent, to them and their heirs forever."

A similar abstract of the treaty is given in "Mourt's relation," p. 62,—with a slight variation in the third and sixth articles. In the third article, according to Mourt, the security of the English relates simply to their "tooles," and in the sixth article, a just reciprocity is recognized, by providing that the English should leave their "peaces" behind them in their interview with the Indians. He also states that not only the King Massasoit liked the treaty well, but "it was applauded of his followers." The interview was opened and closed, he is careful to inform us, by a most cordial embrace—"our Governor kissing his hand, whilst the King kissed him." "The conditions of this treaty," remarks Mr. Baylies, "were faithfully observed for a period of fifty-five years, exhibiting an instance of unexampled good faith, fidelity and honesty in both parties."*

Note D. Page 14.

The existence of such a friendly Indian as Squanto, who was also well fitted in the Providence of God to act the part of an interpreter, is only one of the many remarkable instances of the Divine interposition in behalf of our fathers. In Morton's New-England Memorial, pp. 55, 56, we find the following testimony in his favor, and notice of his preparation for the work which was assigned him in the settlement of this country.

* Memoir of Plymouth Colony, vol. 1, page 67.

"Squanto continued with them (the English,) and was their interpreter, and proved a special instrument sent of God for their good, beyond expectation. He directed them in planting their corn, where to take their fish, and to procure their commodities; and also was their pilot to bring them to unknown places for their profit, and never left them until his death. He was a native of this place where Plimouth is, and scarce any left besides himself. He was carried away, (with divers others,) by one named Hunt, a master of a ship, who thought to sell them for slaves in Spain, but he got away for England, and was entertained by a merchant in London, and employed to Newfoundland and other parts; and at last brought hither into these parts by one Mr. Dermer, a gentleman employed by Sir Fernando Gorges and others for discovery and other designs."

This Hunt, as we learn from other sources, commanded one of the ships with which Captain Smith came to New-England in 1614, on a voyage of discovery and of trade. Smith being obliged to return to England in July, Hunt was left to complete his cargo, and return home by the way of Spain. In what a portion of his cargo consisted, has already been observed. Prince says: (Chron. p. 40.) "he gets twenty Indians on board him at Patuxit, (Plymouth,) one of whom is called Squanto, and seven more at Nausit, (Eastham.)" "Like a wicked varlet," says Hubbard, "he decoyed them." Mourt adds—"he sold them for slaves, like a wretched man, (for twentie pound a man,) that care not what mischiefe he doth for his profit." Smith reprobated the conduct of Hunt on this wise: "Notwithstanding, after my departure, hee abused the salvages where hee came, and betrayed twenty seauen of these poor innocent soules which hee sold in Spain for slaves, to moove their hate against our nation, as well as to cause my proceedings to be so much the more difficult." Many of these captives were rescued from slavery through the kind interposition of some monks in Malaga. Squanto is supposed to have been one of these more fortunate captives. Finding his way to England, he entered the employ of a London merchant by the name of Sla-

ney, and became strongly attached to the English, notwithstanding his unfortunate introduction to one of their number. Mr. Dermer who returned Squanto to Patuxit in June of the very year the Pilgrims landed, confesses that the savages would have killed him, "had he (Squanto,) not entreated hard" for him.

In this connection an additional token of the Divine regard for our fathers may be noticed. It would seem, Capt. Smith had set his heart on planting a colony in New-England. He was greatly charmed with the locality. He thus expresses himself, "of all the foure parts of the world I have yet seen, not inhabited, could I have but means to transport a colony, I would rather live here than anywhere." Twice in a single year, (1615) he left England with this object in view. In the first instance he lost his masts, and was obliged to put back. Again, leaving with a single ship, he was captured by a French man of war, and of course abandoned his undertaking. If he had succeeded in his purpose, being a man with mere worldly aims, how had it given an entirely different complexion to New-England character!

God had reserved this land, as the event proved, for a religious plantation.

Note E. Page 15.

"With presents and message we set forward the tenth Iune, about 9. a clocke in the Morning, our guide resolving that night to rest at *Namaschet*,* a towne vnder *Massasoyt*, and conceived by vs to bee very neere, because the Inhabitants flocked so thicke vpon every slight occasion amongst vs: but wee found it to bee some fifteene English myles. On the way we found some ten or twelue men women and children, which had pestered vs till wee were wearie of them, perceiving that (as the manner of them all is) where victuall is easiliest to be got, there they liue, especially in the Summer: by reason whereof our Bay affording many Lobsters, they resort every spring tide thither: & now returned with vs to *Namaschet*. Thither we

* Middleboro'.

came about 3. a clock after noone, the Inhabitants entertaining vs with ioy, in the best manner they could giving vs a kinde of bread called by them *Maizium*, and the spawne of Shads, which then they got in abundance, in so much as they gaue vs spoones to eate them, with these they boyled mustie Acorns, but of the Shads we eate heartily. After this they desired one of our men to shoote at a Crow, complaining what damage they sustained in their Corne by them, who shooting some fourscore off and killing, they much admired it, as other shots on other occasions. After this *Tisquantum* told vs we should hardly in one day reach *Pakanokick*, moving vs to goe some 8. myles further, where we should finde more store and better victuals then there: Being willing to hasten our Iourney we went, and came thither at Sunne setting, where we found many of the *Namascheucks* (they so calling the mẽ of *Namaschet*) fishing vppon a Ware* which they made on a River† which belonged to them, where they caught abundance of Basse. These welcommed vs also, gaue vs of their fish, and we them of our victuals, not doubting but we should haue enough where ere we came. There we lodged in the open fieldes: for houses they spent the most of the Summer there. The head of this River is reported to bee not farre from the place of our abode; vpon it are, and have been many Townes, it being a good length. The ground is very good on both sides, it being for the most part cleered: Thousands of men have lived there, which dyed in a great plague not long since: and pitty it was and is to see, so many goodly fieldes, & so well seated, without men to dresse and manure the same. Vppon this River dwelleth *Massasoyt:* It commeth into the Sea at the *Narrohiganset* Bay, where the Frenchmen so much vse. A shipp may goe many myles vp it, as the Salvages report, and a shallop to the head of it: but so farre as wee saw, wee are sure a Shallop may.

* "At Titicut, on Taunton river, in the N. W. part of Middleboro' is a noted place, which was formerly called the old Indian Wear. Though other wears have been erected on Taunton river, yet this is probably the place intended."—Mass. Hist. Coll. VIII. 233 note.

† The Indian Titicut or Tetiquet—now called Taunton river.

But to return to our Iourney: The next morning wee brake our fast tooke our leaue and departed, being then accompanied with some sixe Salvages, having gone about sixe myles by thee River side, at a knowne shole place,* it beeing low water, they spake to vs to put off our breeches, for wee must wade thorow. Heere let me not forget the vallour and courrage of some of the Salvages, on the opposite side of the river, for there were remaining aliue only 2. men, both aged, especially the one being aboue threescore; These two espying a company of men entring the River, ran very swiftly & low in the grasse to meete vs at the banck, where shrill voyces and great courage standing charged vpon vs with their bowes, they demaunded what we were, supposing vs to be enemies, and thinking to take advantage on vs in the water: but seeing we were friends, they welcomed vs with such foode as they had, and we bestowed a small bracelet of Beades on them. Thus farre wee are sure the Tide ebs and flowes.

Having heere againe refreshed our selves, we proceeded in our Iourney, the weather being very hote for travell, yet the Country so well watered that a man could scarce be drie, but he should haue a spring at hand to coole his thirst, beside smal Rivers in abundance: But the Salvages will not willingly drinke but at a spring head. When wee came to any small Brooke where no bridge was, two of them desired to carry vs through of their own accords, also fearing wee were or would be weary, offered to carry our peeces, also if we would lay off any of our clothes, we should haue them carried: and as the one had found more speciall kindnesse from one of the Messengers, and the other Salvage from the other, so they showed their thankefulnesse accordingly in affording vs all helpe, and furtherance in the Iourney.

As we passed along, we observed that there were few places by the River, but had beene inhabited, by reason whereof much ground was cleare, saue of weedes which grewe higher then our

* Near the Iron Works on the Taunton river, at the village called Squawbetty, four miles from the Green.

heads. There is much good Timber, both Oake, Waltnut-tree, Firre, Beech, and exceeding great Chessnut-trees. The Country in respect of the lying of it, is both Champanie and hilly, like many places in England. In some places its very rockie both aboue ground and in it: and though the Counterey be wilde and over-growne with woods, yet the trees stand not thicke, but a man may well ride a horse amongst them.

Passing on at length, one of the Company an *Indian* espied a man, and told the rest of it, we asked them if they feared any, they told vs that if they were *Narrohigganset* men they would not trust them, whereat we called for our peeces and bid them not to feare; for though they were twenty, we two alone would not care for them: but they hayling him, he prooved a friend, and had onely two women with him: their baskets were empty, but they fetched water in their bottels, so that we dranke with them and departed. After we met another man with other two women, which had beene at Randevow by the salt water, and their baskets were full of rosted Crab fishes, and other dryed shell fish, of which they gaue vs, and wee eate and dranke with them: and gaue each of the women a string of Beades, and departed.

After wee came to a Towne of *Massasoyts*, where we eat Oysters and other fish. From thence we went to *Packanokick*."

Note F. Page 18.

I am sorry to be obliged to call in question the additional statement of Mr. Baylies, in his valuable Historical Memoir, that "Miss Poole was the first of the English who practically admitted the force of that moral obligation which requires the consent of the owner before property can be taken from his possession and appropriated to the use of another." Whilst I admire the profound veneration which the esteemed author of that Memoir appears to cherish for the memory of one in whose "code of ethics religion and justice were inseparable," I at the same time believe there were others as well as she, who "had not yet admitted the lawfulness of despoiling the heathen."

It was the purpose not only of one, but of all the original settlers to make a satisfactory purchase of their lands. Other towns as well as Taunton were obtained by as fair an equivalent as "a *peck of beans*," the precise consideration which in that period of our history, tradition asserts, satisfied the Aborigines of this part of the country. That the English, whom the Mayflower brought, had no desire to rob even the Indian of his rights, or to appropriate another's property to their own use, is manifest, as has been in another connection remarked, from the concern they had about the corn they found at Paomet, and the measures taken to restore it.

NOTE G. Page 18.

The names of the first and ancient purchasers are registered in the following order:

Henry Uxley, ... 8	William Phillips, ... 8
Richard Williams, ... 12	William Hailstone, ... 8
Joseph Wilson, ... 8	William Parker, ... 12
Benjamin Wilson, ... 8	John Parker, ... 8
William Coy, ... 8	John Richmond, ... 6
George Hall, ... 12	William Holloway, ... 12
David Corwithy, ... 12	The Widow Randall, ... 6
Mr. William Pool, ... 12	Francis Doty, ... 12
George Macy, ... 8	William Dunn, ... 8
William Harvey, ... 8	William Scadding, ... 12
Hezekiah Hoar, ... 8	John Bryant, ... 6
Walter Deane, ... 12	Anthony Slocum, ... 8
John Deane, ... 12	John Gengille, ... 8
John Strong, ... 12	Francis Street, ... 8
Henry Andrews, ... 12	Hugh Rossiter, ... 8
Thomas Cooke, ... 6	John Gilbert, ... 12
John Smith, ... 12	Thomas Gilbert, ... 12
Mr. Thomas Farwell, ... 12	Robert Hobell, ... 6
Edward Case, ... 8	Richard Burt, ... 8

John Kingsley, ...12	John Crossman, ...6
Richard Paull, ...6	John Luther, ...6
Richard Smith, ...12	John Drake, ...12
Mr. John Gilbert, ...12	Mr. John Brown, ...

NOTE H. Page 18.

The consideration paid the Court for this land was £100. The persons empowered in the grant made to hold it, were as follows:

Richard Williams,	Shadrach Wilbore,
Walter Dean,	Thomas Caswell,
George Macy,	John Macomber,
James Walker,	John Smith,
Jeseph Wilbore,	Edward Rue,
William Harvey,	John Parker,
Thomas Leonard.	Samuel Paul,
John Turner,	Thomas Linkoln, Senior,
Henry Andrew,	Thomas Harvey, the Elder,
John Cobb,	Nathaniel Thayer,
George Hall,	Thomas Linkoln, Junior,
John Hall,	Peter Pitts,
Samuel Hall,	Jonah Austin, Senior,
James Leonard, Senior,	John Richmond,
Nathaniel Williams,	Samuel Williams,
Thomas Williams,	Christopher Thresher,
Nicholas White, Senior,	Mistress Jane Gilbert,
Nicholas White, Junior,	George Watson,
Hezekiah Hoar,	Samuel Smith,
Alice Dean,	James Burt,
Robert Crossman,	Richard Burt,
John Tisdall, Senior,	Jonathan Briggs,
John Tisdall, Junior,	Increase Robinson,
James Phillips,	John Bryant,
Edward Babbitt,	Thomas Harvey, Junior,
John Hatheway,	Mr. George Shove.*

* Name entered on the margin in 1682.

Note I. Page 18.

This purchase was made of Sachem Philip for £143, being four miles square. The purchasers were the same as of the north Purchase, with the exception of John Cobb, George Hall, Alice Dean, John Parker, Samuel Paul, Jonah Austin, Senior, Mistress Jane Gilbert, and John Bryant — with the addition of

William Brenton, Esquire,
Giles Gilbert,
John Deane,
Aaron Knapp,
Thomas Gilbert,
John Pool,
William Wetherell,
Henry Andrews, Junior,
Samuel Pitts,
Robert Thornton,
Thomas Deane,
Joseph Williams,
James Tisdill,
Israel Deane,
Francis Smith,
Jonah Austin, Junior,
Richard Stacy,
John Hodges,
William Paul,
Samuel Holloway,
Malachi Holloway,
Esther Galup,
Joseph Hall,
Mary Street,
Isaac Deane,
Ezra Deane,
James Walker, Junior,
Peter Walker,
Israel Thresher,
Samuel Macy,
Jared Talbot,
James Leonard, Junior,
John Lincoln,
Richard Stephens,
William Wetherell, Junior,
Richard Briggs,
John Smith, Junior,
Thomas Amesbury,
John Macomber,
Joseph Willis.

Note J. Page 18.

The most sanguine of our fathers would have been slow to believe that the aspect of things could so far change in the course of one or two centuries. It may be interesting to note its progress as indicated by the following facts:

Taunton was incorporated in..... 1639

Norton was incorporated in.....1711
Dighton.."....".....".....1712
Easton..."...."....."....1725
Raynham."...."....."....1731
Berkley.."...."....."....1735
Mansfield."... "....."....1770

The date of incorporation of these several towns, which constituted a part of the original Taunton, indicates for the most part the period when separate church organizations began to exist therein. Whilst within the limits of the present town of Taunton, (if we except occasional Episcopal services in the westerly part of the town,) there was only one meeting-house, one meeting and one minister, till nearly the close of the preceding century; the last half century has witnessed an increase from one to thirteen meeting-houses, with as many churches and ministers, in Taunton proper, and nearly forty of the same, including all the territory within its original limits.

Note K. Page 19.

The whole of the notice in Lechford's pamphlet under date of Jan. 17, 1641, is in the following terms: "There is a church gathered of late, and some ten or twenty of the church, the rest excluded, Master Hooke, Pastor, Master Street, Teacher. Master Hooke received ordination from the hands of one Master Bishop, a schoolmaster, and one Parker, a husbandman, and then Master Hooke joyned in ordaining Master Street. One Master Doughty, a minister, opposed the gathering of the church there, alleging that according to the covenant of Abraham, all men's children that were of baptized parents, and so Abraham's children, ought to be baptized; and spake so in publique, or to that effect, which was held a disturbance, and the ministers spake to the magistrate to order him; the magistrate commanded the constable, who dragged Master Doughty out of the assembly. He was forced to go away from thence with his wife and children."—Plain Dealing, or Newes from

New-England; by Thomas Lechford of Clement Inne, in the county of Middlesex — Gent. 1641, pp. 40, 41.

Thomas Lechford was not an impartial witness of proceedings in the infant Plymouth colony. He came hither with all the prejudices of the mother country, and it is sufficient to say that his printed observations are equally reliable with those of some modern tourists from the same country. One might infer from the above statement that "schoolmaster Bishop, and husbandman Parker" were the only officiating persons at the ordination of Master Hooke; whereas, if we may credit a statement of the same Lechford on page 54, "Master Wilson, Master Mather and some others going to the ordination of Master Hooke and Master Street to give them the right hand of fellowship at New-Taunton, there heard the difference between Master Hooke and Master Doughty, where Master Doughty was overruled, and the matter carried somewhat partially, as is reported." It is needless to say that the presence of Rev. John Wilson of Boston, and Rev. Richard Mather, of Dorchester, and "some others" of their type, is an abundant assurance that all things were done "in decency and in order"—that Master Doughty, whoever he was, and however served, was not very unrighteously dealt with, the report which reached Mr. Lechford's ears to the contrary notwithstanding. Concerning the regularity of Hooke's ordination, Mr. Baylies remarks: "there can be no doubt, as Wilson of Boston, and Richard Mather of Dorchester, both illustrious men and lights of the church, assisted."—Memoir of Plymouth Colony, vol. 1, p. 291.

There is a fact incidentally stated by Lechford, which, if we can credit it, is of consequence to posterity. He makes honorable mention of "Master Bishop, a schoolmaster." This "Master Bishop" must have been the first Taunton "schoolmaster." It is not improbable that whilst "Brother Philemon Purmont," according to the Boston Records, "was entreated to become scholemaster for the teaching and nowtering of children in that place," and in 1635 accepted the high trust committed to him; whilst in New-Haven also, Master Ezekiel Cheever,

three years later, was called to the like work, with which after "a skillful, painful, faithful" experience of more than seventy years, he expresses himself, in a letter to Sir Edmund Andross, "yet delighted," it is more than probable that the "schoolmaster Bishop" about the same time was inducted into office in the town of Cohannet. The meeting-house and the school-house — the minister and the schoolmaster made their appearance in the infant settlement together.

Note L. Page 19.

Mrs. Pool died in the town which her enterprise had founded, in 1654. She was buried near her house, a few rods south of the eastern extremity of Main Street. Her remains were removed to the burial place on the Plain, in 1771, where slightly elevated above the surface of the ground may be seen a simple slab, bearing the following inscription, written, as we are informed, by Hon. Robert Treat Paine, a distinguished citizen of Taunton, one of the immortal signers of the Declaration of American Independence.

"Here rest the remains
of Miss Elizabeth Pool,
a native of Old England,
of good Family, Friends, and Prospects,
All which she left, in the Prime of her Life,
to enjoy the Religion of her Conscience
in this distant wilderness;
A great Proprietor in the Township
of Taunton;
A chief Promoter of its Settlement,
and its Incorporation, 1639-40,
about which time she Settled near this spot
And, having employed the opportunity
of her Virgin state,
in Piety, Liberality,
and Sanctity of manners,

Died, May 21, A. D. 1654, aged LXV.
To whose memory,
this Monument is gratefully erected
by her next of kin,
JOHN BORLAND, Esq.,
A. D. 1771."

The Ladies of Taunton have erected a costlier monument to the memory of this remarkable woman, at the entrance of the delightful rural cemetery, known as Mount Pleasant, which adorns the town. It bears the following inscription:

"The Females of Taunton
have erected this monument
in honor of
ELIZABETH POOL,
Foundress
of the town of Taunton
in 1637.
Born before the settlement
of America,
in England, 1589,
died at Taunton,
May 21, 1654."

NOTE M. Page 19.

There is a MSS. of considerable antiquity in possession of my esteemed antiquarian friend, Mr. Edgar H. Reed, of Taunton, which furnishes the following facts concerning Richard Williams. He "was one of the eighty purchasers of the tract of land, bought of the Indians, called the Cohannet Indians, the said tract of land being called the eight mile square, and received the name of Taunton at the time of incorporation, A. D. 1640. Richard Williams married Frances Dighton, sister of Catharine Dighton, who was married to Governor Thomas Dudley; the said Catharine Dighton being the mother of Governor Joseph Dudley, and grandmother of Paul Dudley, Esq., one of the

Judges of the Circuit. Richard Williams was descended from a family of that name in Glamorganshire, in Wales, and found a wife in Gloucestershire, England.

The children of Richard Williams, of Taunton, and Frances his wife:

1. John; 2. Samuel; 3. Joseph; 4. Nathaniel; 5. Thomas; 6. Benjamin; 7. Elizabeth; 8. Hannah.

The following facts with regard to the children and the grandchildren of Richard Williams, are derived in part from that indefatigable genealogist, Wm. R. Deane, Esq., of Boston, who has prepared valuable genealogical memoirs of the Deane, and of the Leonard families.

I. *John.*—Of him nothing is known.

II. *Samuel*, married Jane Gilbert; their children,

(1) Mary, married Henry Andrews, of Taunton.

(2) Sarah, married Benjamin Deane, of Taunton.

(3) Hannah, born about 1670, died June 20, 1708, aged 38, married Samuel Burns, of Taunton.

(4) Seth, b. about 1676, mar. Mary Deane, and d. May 13, 1761, in his 86th year.

(5) Samuel, b. about 1680, d. April 17, 1765, in 86th year, mar. Abigail ———, who d. Feb. 23, 1779, in her 94th year.

(6) Daniel, b. about 1982, d. Sept. 7, 1735, mar. Mercy Deane.

III. *Joseph*, died Aug. 17, 1692, mar. Elizabeth ———, children:

(1) Elizabeth, b. July 30, 1669, drowned, Oct. 13, 1688.

(2) Richard, b. Nov. 26, 1671, d. July 13, 1688.

(3) Mehitabel, b. June 7, 1676, mar. Increase Robinson of Taunton.

(4) Joseph, b. Feb. 13, 1678.

(5) Benjamin, b. Oct. 15, 1681, d. Jan. 19, 1757, aged 75; mar. Elizabeth Deane.

(6) Ebenezer, b. April 21, 1685.

(7) Phebe, b. Sept. 25, 1687, mar. Christopher Richmond, of Middleboro'.

(8) Richard, b. March 26, 1689.

IV. *Nathaniel*, mar. Nov. 17, 1668, Elizabeth Rogers, of Duxbury, and had children.

(1) John, b. Aug. 27, 1675.

(2) Nathaniel, b. April 9, 1679.

(3) Elizabeth, b. April 18, 1686, mar. John Macomber, of Taunton.

V. *Thomas*, wife Mary — their children :

(1) Mary, b. 1680, mar. Ebenezer Robinson, of Raynham.

(2) Jonathan, b. 1683, d. April 7, 1761, in 78th year of age; mar. Eliz. Leonard.

(3) Sarah, b. 1685, mar. James Hall, of Raynham.

(4) Macy, b. 1687.

(5) Hannah, b. 1689, mar. Joseph Snell, of Bridgewater.

(6) Bethiah, b. 1692, mar. Major Joseph Hodges, of Norton.

(7) Mehitabel, b. 1695, mar. Rev. Benjamin Webb, of Eastham.

(8) Damaris, b. 1698, married 1724, Daniel Howard, of Bridgewater.

VI. *Benjamin*, mar. March 18, 1689-90, Rebecca Macy — children :

(1) Rebecca, b. Nov. 27, 1690, mar. 1. Samuel Pitts; 2. James Williams, both of Taunton.

(2) Josiah, b. Nov. 7, 1692, mar. Martha Howard.

(3) Benjamin, b. July 31, 1695.

(4) John, b. March 27, 1699.

VII. *Elizabeth*, b. about 1647, d. 1724, aged 77, married John Bird, of Dorchester, b. 1641, d. 1732.

VIII. *Hannah*, mar. John Parmenter, of Boston.

Mr. Baylies is of the opinion Richard Williams was related to Oliver Cromwell, one of whose ancestors bore that name, and

Williams was also the family name, until it was exchanged for an estate. Richard Williams was a deputy from Taunton to Plymouth in 1646, 1648, 1650, 1651, and several succeeding years. His name is at the head of the list both of those who made the *South*, and of those who made the *North* Purchase. Everything indicates that he was the Patriarch of the Plantation. In one of the letters of Roger Williams to the town of Providence, he alludes to his "brother," who had sent a paper of some kind for the consideration of the people, which required an answer. With reference to this expression, Mr. Baylies raises the query: "Does he mean his Christian brother or his natural brother? If his natural brother, was it Richard Williams of Taunton?"* From which may be inferred the opinion of Mr. B. that Richard Williams of Taunton, and Roger Williams of Providence, were brothers.

Note N. Page 20.

At the first Court of Election in Massachusetts, May 18, 1631, "that the body of the Commons might be preserved of good and honest men," it was ordered, that from that time, no persons be admitted to the freedom of the body politic, but such as were members of some of the churches within its limits. [See Hubbard, ch. 26, Johnson, New-England, 39, Mass. Col. Laws, Holmes Am. Annals, vol. 1, p. 210.] Holmes remarks this law was repealed in 1665, but Hutchinson says, it was only "in appearance," and that it "was in fact continued in force until the dissolution of the charter government, in 1785." The qualifications of freemen in Massachusetts and the Plymouth Colony were not in this respect essentially different.

Note O. Page 20.

William Pool was brother of Elizabeth Pool, and afterwards removed to Dorchester, where he distinguished himself as a man of education and piety. In the annals of Dorchester by James Blake, which published mss. constitutes number two of the

* Plym. Mem. part 1, page 272.

Collections of the Dorchester Antiquarian and Historical Society, under date of 1674, we find the following entry: "This year Died Mr. William Pole, of whom ye Records thus speak, "Mr. William Pole, that sage, Reved. Pious man of God, departed this life Febr. 24th 1674." He was Clerk of ye Writs & Register of Births, Deaths & Marriages in Dorchester about 10 years; and often schoolmaster in Dorchester. Upon his Tomb it is thus written:

"The Epitaph of William Pole, which he himself made while he was yet living, in Remembrance of his own Death, and left it to be Engraven on his Tomb, so that being Dead he might warn Posterity.

"Or a Resemblance of a Dead man bespeaking ye Reader."

"Ho Passenger 'tis worth thy Pains to stay
"And take a Dead man's Lesson by ye Way.
"I was what now thou art, & thou shalt be
"What I am now, what odds 'twixt me and thee!
"Now go thy way: but stay, take one word more,
"Thy Staff for ought thou know'st Stands next ye Door.
"Death is ye Door, ye Door of Heaven or Hell:
"Be warn'd, be arm'd, Believe, Repent, Farewell."

He Died Febr. 24th, 1674; aged 81 years.

John, a son of William Pool, removed to Boston, and was subsequently distinguished, as a partisan officer in the great Indian war. He succeeded to the possessions of his aunt, Elizabeth Pool, and from him they descended eventually to the family of Borland. The wife of Colonel John Pool was the daughter of William Brenton, Esq., who resided in Taunton many years; from him are descended Sir Jahleel Brenton, an admiral in the British navy and the Hon. Brenton Haliburton, a Judge of the Supreme Court of Novascotia."—(*F. Baylies.*)

In the registry of early deaths in Taunton, to be found on the Proprietors' records is the following: "Timothy, son of Mr. William Poole, d. 15 Dec. 1667, he was drowned in a little pond at Wesquabinansit, (Squawbetty) where it was thought he did swim in after a gose which he had shoote."

Note P. Page 20.

Mr. John Gilbert, Senior, as is supposed, came from Devonshire at an age somewhat advanced, and settled with his family at Dorchester. He was dead previous to 1654, but his widow, Mrs. Winnifred Gilbert, was then living. He and Henry Andrews were the two first deputies or representatives from Taunton to the General Court in Plymouth, in 1639. He was a leading man in town. In 1641, Mr. John Gilbert, Senior, Mr. William Poole, Mr. Henry Andrews, John Strong, John Deane, Walter Deane, and Edward Case, received a grant of forty acres each, "lying together in some convenient place, for their great charges in attending courts, laying out of lands, and other occasions for the town." Two of his sons, Thomas and John, came with him to Taunton, and were original proprietors.

Note Q. Page 20.

Mr. Henry Andrews was one of the first two deputies to the General Court, in 1639. He was also a deputy in 1643, 1644, 1647, and 1649. He was probably a carpenter, or a contractor for building, as "in 1647, the calf pasture neck was sold to Henry Andrews for building the meeting-house"—the first meeting-house in the town of Taunton. In 1659, he in connection with John Macomber, was permitted to erect a saw-mill on Mill river, "if it be not found hurtful to the grist-mill." A son of Henry Andrews, bearing his name, was killed in King Philip's War.

Note R. Page 20.

John Strong was son of Richard Strong, of Taunton, England, and came to New-England with his sister, in the "Mary and John, in 1630.* His sister mar. Walter Deane, her name being Eleanor.† They were in Dorchester until the settlement

* Appendix to Hitchcock's sermon at the funeral of Mrs. Joanna Strong.

† Brist. Reg, of Deeds — vii. 351.

of Taunton in 1637. It is not certain just how long John Strong remained in Taunton. Mr. Baylies says till "after the Indian War."* He went thence to Northampton and is the progenitor of the many illustrious families which bear that name in different parts of our country. He is spoken of as "Elder John Strong." His lot in Taunton was on Dean street, adjoining those of John and Walter Deane.

Note S. Page 20.

John and Walter Deane were brothers. They "took up their farms on the west bank of the river, (the larger river,) about one mile from the centre of the present village," in what from that day to this has been called "Deane Street." John was born about 1600, having died between April 25 and June 7, 1660, "aged sixty years or thereabouts." His wife, who was named Alice, survived him, and was probably living as late as 1668, as she is referred to in the records of the Plymouth Court for that year. The following extract from his will shows what his feeling was with regard to a "settled ministry," however the colony, towards the close of the century, may have deteriorated in this respect. "Item, my will is that these my overseers with the consent of my wife shall in case heer be no settled ministry in Taunton; they shall have full power to sell either the whole or a part of these my Housings and Lands, soe as my Children and Posteritie may remove elsewhere, where they may enjoy God in His ordinances."† The inventory of his estate was £334,18. Tradition has furnished the following anecdote concerning John Deane. While out on a hunting excursion alone, he perceived some Indians cautiously approaching through the bushes, evidently with the purpose of capturing or killing him. When they had nearly reached him, the thought suddenly struck him of making it to appear as if he were only one of a multitude. This he did by exclaiming loudly, "Rush on, boys, and we 'll have them," at the same time, firing his gun

* Plym. Mem. vol. 1, 287.
† Will—Plym. Prob. Rec. ii, 61.

and making forward. The stratagem succeeded, and the wild men of the woods scattered, permitting him to return home unmolested.

The children of John and Alice Deane were as follows:

I. John, born about 1639, said to have been the *first* white child born in Taunton. He died during the "Great Snow," Feb. 18, 1717, and there is a tradition he lay dead in his house three weeks before it was known to his neighbors.* His gravestone is yet visible in the neck-of-land burial place.† He married Nov. 7, 1663, Sarah, daughter of Dea. Samuel Edson of Bridgewater. Their children were as follows:

(1) Samuel, deacon of the Taunton church, born Jan. 24,

* I have heard the following interesting circumstance related in connection with this scene. A daughter resided with him who was unmarried. She had been remarkably timid up to this time. But during these many days of solitary confinement with the dead body of her father, she experienced such a change in her character, as excluded all fear forever after. She was famous through all the region for her resolute and undaunted courage.

† This is the earliest place of burial in Taunton known to us. It is now rarely visited save by the antiquary, and some stray sheep or cow, which seeks its pasturage amongst the graves of our fathers. My esteemed friend, Mr. Edgar H. Reed, with due veneration for the ancient dead, has crept over the entire enclosure with chisel in hand, and deciphered the almost illegible inscriptions. I have been permitted to examine his MSS. in which are recorded the inscriptions, not only in this, but in every other graveyard in town, prior to 1800. Those prior to 1700 I transcribe:

"Elizabeth Smith, aged 40, dyed Jany. 31, 1687."

"Damaris Smith, aged 21 years, dyed 29th of Oct., 1689."

Abigail Thayer, dyed the 20th of August, in the yr. 1691, in the 52d year of her adge."

"Joseph Leonard dyed the 18th of Oct. in the year 1692, in the 88th (Wm. R. Dean says 38th,) year of his adge."

In the burying ground three and a half miles south of the Green on the Dighton road, are the following inscriptions prior to 1700:

"Here lyes ye body of Elizabeth Walker, wife of James Walker, aged 59, dyed in ye year 1678, Aug. the 14."

"Here lyes ye body of James Walker, aged 73, dyed in ye year 1691, Feb. ye 15th."

"Here lyes ye body of Joseph Atwood, aged 47, dyed in ye year 1696-7 in Feb. ye 12."

"Here lieth ye body of Esther Atwood, ye wife of Joseph Atwood, aged 46, dyed in ye year 1696, in April ye 8th."

1666, died Oct. 1, 1731, married Sarah ———. Their children (1) Sarah. (2) Bethiah, married Samuel Clapp, grandparents of Hon. Asa Clapp of Portland, Me., whose daughter Eliza married Hon. Levi Woodbury. (3) Samuel married (1) Mary Avery, (2) Rachel Dwight, (3) Wid. Margaret King, father of Rev. Samuel Deane, D. D., of Portland, Me. (4) William, married Esther Avery, Aug. 7, 1704, grandparents of Rev. Samuel Deane of Scituate, Mass., whose brother Jacob of Mansfield, is father of William Reed Deane, of Boston. (5) Nathan. (6) Isaac.

(2) Sarah, born Nov. 9, 1668, mar. Maj. Jonathan Howard of Bridgewater.

(3) John, b. July 6, 1670, d. Aug. 6, 1670.

(4) Mehitable, b. Oct. 9, 1671, mar. Joseph Wilbore.

(5) John, b. Sept. 18, 1674, d. July 31, 1724. Wid. Hannah d. July 15, 1748.

(6) Elizabeth, b. March 15, 1676, d. unmarried, March 15, 1749.

(7) Mary, b. July 15, 1680, mar. Seth Williams.

(8) Susannah, b. Aug. 13, 1683, d. unmarried about 1716.

(9) Israel, b. Aug. 4, 1685, mar. 1705, Katharine Bird of Dorchester.

II. THOMAS, settled at Taunton, mar. Jan. 5, 1669, Katharine Stephens. Their children were as follows:

(1) Thomas, b. Feb. 1, 1671, d. Feb. 26, 1671.

(2) Hannah, b. Jan. 14, 1672, d. unmarried about 1750.

(3) Thomas, b. about 1673, d. Sept. 10, 1747, mar. Jan. 7, 1696, Mary Kingsley of Milton, Mass. From them descended Hon. Josiah Dean of Raynham, Mem. of Con. 1807-9.

(4) Deborah, mar. John Tisdale.

(5) Katharine, mar. April 17, 1710, Dea. Samuel Leonard. Their daughter, Hazadiah, mar. Rev. John Wales, first minister of Raynham: *Their* daughter, Prudence, mar. Rev. Peres Forbes, L. L. D., second minister. *Their* daughter, again Nancy, mar. Rev. Simeon Doggett, also a minister of Raynham.

Rev. Samuel Wales, D. D., Prof. of Divinity in Yale College, was a son of the Rev. John Wales. Hon. John Wales, U. S. Senator from Delaware, was a son of Prof. Wales.

(6) Lydia, mar. George Hall.

(7) Mercy, mar. Daniel Williams.

(8) Elizabeth, b. about 1688, d. March 18, 1758, mar. Dea. Benjamin Williams.

III. Israel, "was a lieutenant in Philip's war and was in the great Narragansett Fight."* He died unmarried. Will dated Aug, 7, 1677.

IV. Isaac, settled in Taunton, married Jan. 24, 1677, Hannah, daughter of James Leonard. Their children, as follows:

(1) Alice, b. Nov. 20, 1678, mar. Feb. 1, 1700, John King of Raynham.

(2) Abigail, b. Nov. 16, 1680, mar. ——— Torry.

(3) Hannah, b. April 24, 1683, mar. ——— Hodges.

(4) Nathaniel, b. April 25, 1685.

(5) Jonathan.

(6) Abiah.

(7) Deborah.

Note T. Page 20.

Walter, the younger brother of John Deane, was born, according to Rev. S. Deane, "in Chard, England, between 1615 and 1620. Chard is about ten miles from Taunton. Somersetshire, England, the birth place of Elizabeth Pool, and others of the original settlers of Taunton, in New-England. Both towns are situated in an extensive and fertile valley, called Taunton Dean, on the river Tone. This "dean" or valley comprehends a region about Taunton very pleasant and populous, of some thirty miles in extent, and has been represented as exceedingly productive. The following proverb, which ac-

* Mss. papers of Rev. S. Deane.

cording to Fuller's Worthies, is current with the inhabitants, implies, and is intended by them to express a pride in the place of their birth, namely: "Where should I be born else than in Taunton Dean." In Campbell's Survey of Great Britain, is the following description: "The vale of Taunton Dean in respect to its amazing fertility is only surpassed by the industry of its inhabitants, which is a point that we may affirm to be extremely worthy of notice, since it very rarely happens in this kingdom, or in any other, that when from the natural fecundity of the soil, a plentiful subsistence may be had with very little labor, the people should nevertheless apply themselves vigorously and steadily to the manual arts."

Walter Deane was a tanner by trade.* He was a man of influence, and highly esteemed in the settlement. This appears from the fact he was deputy from Taunton to the Plymouth Court in 1640,† and selectman also of Taunton from 1679 to 1686 inclusive.‡ He married Eleanor, daughter of Richard Strong of Taunton, England, and sister of John Strong, one of the original settlers in Taunton, New-England.§ The names of but three of his children are known, although it is supposed he had others, who either died early or removed from Taunton. The following settled in Taunton:

I. Joseph, "cordwainer," (Bristol Reg. Deeds 1, 63,) of Taunton, 1684, (Ditto) of Dighton 1728 (Bris. Prob. Rec., v., 202) died between Dec. 3, 1728 and Feb. 11, 1729, leaving a widow, Mary. (Ditto.) Their children were as follows:

(1) Joseph. From him was descended John G. Deane, Esq., of Ellsworth, afterwards of Portland, a prominent writer on the N. E. boundary question, who married Rebecca, daughter of Hon. Judge Paddleford of Taunton, and who was the father of Joseph P. Deane, Esq., of Taunton.

* Bristol Reg. Deeds, 1, 152.
† Plym. Court Orders, 1; Baylies Plym. 1, 307.
‡ Plymouth Court Orders, VI.
§ Appendix to Hitchcock's sermon at funeral of Mrs. Joanna Strong, 9

(2) Samuel, died without issue.
(3) James, died about 1750, wife Mary.
(4) Sarah, mar. ——— Reed.

II. Ezra, mar. Dec. 17, 1676, Bethiah, daughter of Dea. Samuel Edson of Bridgewater: died between Oct. 28, 1727, and Feb. 15, 1732. (Bris. Prob. Rec. VII., 286.) Their children:

(1) Bethiah, b. Oct. 14, 1677, d. Nov. 27, 1679.

(2) Ezra, b. Oct. 14, 1680, and was twice married. His wife Abigail survived him. The family was remarkable for its longevity, as appears from the following communication in the Columbian Reporter, a paper published in Taunton, in 1825.

"Dr. Ezra Dean's children were (1) Ezra, died at the age of 89. (2) Theodore, 100. (3) Abijah, (Abigail?) 95. (4) Bethiah, 96. (5) Nehemiah, 90. (6) James, 90. (7) Seth, 88. (8) Solomon, 61. (9) Elkanah, 87. (10) William, now (1825) living, 94. (11) George, 86. (12) Elisha, 83. (13) Nathaniel, 25. (14) Esther, now (1825) living, 92. (15) Prudence, 80. (16) Stephen, 51. United ages, 1307. Eleven of the family lived more than 1000 years, two of whom are now (1825) living. Theodora Dean lived to see her children to the fifth generation, and was the mother of the late Dr. Job Godfrey of Taunton, who was eminent in his profession for more than half a century." Job Godfrey, the son of the physician, is at present (1852) "Proprietors' Clerk," and has their records, which are all the more valuable, since the Town records are lost. He is one of the oldest men in town.

(3) Samuel, b. April 11, 1681, d. Feb. 16, 1683.

(4) Seth, b. June 3, 1683, settled at Taunton. From him are descended Rev. Paul Dean of Boston, and Amos Dean Esq., of Albany, N. Y.

(5) Margaret, mar. ——— Shaw.

(6) Ephraim, mar. Mary Allen of Rehoboth. Their son Ezra mar. Jemima, daughter of David Allen, and was the

father of Dr. Ezra Dean of Cambridge, Mass, who mar. (1) Sarah, daughter of Rev. Paul Coffin, D. D., of Buxton, Me., (2) Mary, daughter of Rev. Silas Moody of Kennebunkport, Me., and by the latter, father of Mr. Charles Deane of Boston, of the firm of Waterson, Pray & Co., who mar. Helen, daughter of Robert Waterson, Esq.

III. Benjamin, mar. Jan. 6, 1681, Sarah Williams, died between Feb. 2, 1723, and April 14, 1725. [Bris. Prob. Rec. v., 62, 72.] Their children:

(1) Naomi, b. Nov. 1, 1681, d. Jan. 6, 1682.

(2) Hannah, b. Dec. 26, 1682, mar. ——— Richmond.

(3) *Israel, b. Feb. 2, 1685, d. March 27, 1760, widow Ruth d. 1769.

(4) Mary, b. June 15, 1687, mar. ——— Edson.

(5) Damaris, b. Sept. 4, 1689, mar. Matthew White.

(6) Sarah, b. Aug. 30, 1692, mar. ——— Danforth.

(7) Elizabeth, b. March 26, 1695, mar. ——— Richmond.

(8) Mehitable, b. June 9, 1697, mar. ——— Richmond.

(9) Benjamin, b. July 31, 1699, d. Jan. 6, 1785, mar. Zipporah Deane, daughter of John, grandson of John, the first settler. She died Sept. 27, 1778.

* Israel married Ruth Jones of Sandwich. Their children were Abraham, Israel, Job, Ruth, Naomi, and Noah. Noah mar. Elizabeth Hathaway, of Dighton, (now Berkley.) Their children were: Noah, who died unmarried, aged 23; Elizabeth, and Abiel. Elizabeth mar. John Dennis, Esq., who died abroad. Their children were: Elizabeth and Mary, who mar. William Reed, of Taunton, and John, who mar. Joanna Carver, of Taunton. Abiel Dean is yet living (1852) in Wareham, aged 88 years. He mar. Abby White of Titticut, and has had eight children:

(1) Celia, mar. Joshua Leach of Easton.
(2) Damaris, mar. Eliezer Waterman of Halifax.
(3) Noah, mar. Roxana Hammond of Mattapoisett.
(4) Betsey, mar. Peleg Washburn of Middleborough.
(5) Hannah, mar. Joseph Hammond of Rochester.
(6) Mary, mar. Consider Benson of Middleborough.
(7) Joshua, mar. Mary Cushing of Rochester.
(8) Emeline, mar. (1) Seth Atwood of Wareham, (2) George Cobb, son of Rev. Dr. Cobb of Rochester.

[The above was communicated by Mrs. William Reed of Taunton.]

(10) Ebenezer, b. Feb. 24, 1702, d. July 30, 1774, mar. Rachel Allen, who d. March 3, 1768, aged 74. He and his son Joshua were in the "old French War." A son of Joshua, Joseph, distinguished himself in the Revolutionary War, and during the "Shay's rebellion." Joseph had two sons who were ministers, viz: Rev. Artemas Dean, of New Windsor, N. Y., and Rev. Joshua Dean, of Groton, N. Y.

(11) Lydia, b. Dec. 11, 1704.

(12) Josiah, b. Oct. 23, 1707, d. March 23, 1710.

The above notice of the first three generations of the Deane family has been prepared for the most part from an interesting article in the New-England Historical and Genealogical Register, vol. 3, pp. 375, 387, the materials for which were furnished by Mr. William R. Deane, a native of Mansfield, now of Boston, a descendant of John Deane, through John, Samuel, William, John, and Jacob Deane, and both by descent and marriage connected with a large number of the early ministers of the ancient Taunton.

Note U. Page 20.

Edward Case's lot was on Deane St., not far from the Deanes. He left town after a few years and sold out to one Samuel Wilbore, who became a follower of Mrs. Hutchinson, and shared in her fate. The estate fell into the hands of Shadrach Wilbore, a son of the former, for nearly forty years a most faithful Town Clerk, and who suffered himself to be imprisoned by order of Sir Edmund Andros, rather than give up the town records. It is to be deplored, that a little more regard for the safety of these documents did not in later years provide against their destruction by fire. Our fathers appreciated the fidelity of their public officer, and granted "to Shadrach Wilbore, the town clerk, one hundred acres of land at Cotley, to help make up his loss and trouble which he suffered in the time of Sir Edmund Andros, his government." *"His chirography," re-

* Baylies Plym. Mem. 4th, p. 80.

marks Mr. Baylies, "is extremely beautiful." I have seen it in the Proprietors' Records, and can fully endorse the statement. During his imprisonment at Plymouth, I have understood from Mr. B., that the indomitable Wilbore occupied his time in transcribing valuable papers in the archives of that ancient town.

NOTE V. Page 20.

MR. RICHARD SMITH, and John Smith. The relation of these two early settlers is not known to us. If John was the son of Richard, as is not improbable,* the following names copied from the Proprietors' Records, may be those of his children, otherwise his grand-children.

"The names of the children of John Smith, Sen.:

(1) Elizabeth, born Sept. 7, 1663.

(2) Henry, born May 27, 1666.

John Smith, Senior, mar. Jael Parker of Bridgewater, Nov. 15, 1672.

(3) Deborah, born March 7, 1676.

(4) Homer, born March 22, 1678.

(5) John, born Dec. 6, 1680.

William Parker,

it may be, is "the husbandman," at whose "hands," Thomas Lechford says, "Mr. Hooke received ordination." He must have been considerable of a man in the colony, to be associated, in the rumor which reached this churchman's ears, with so much of a person as "Bishop, the schoolmaster," in this important act of consecration. We should like to know more of him than we do.

Mr. Thomas Farwell

died previous to 1675. His son John went to England. His widow was the third wife of Rev. George Shove.

* In 1643, the males in Taunton between sixteen and sixty, subject to military duty were fifty-four. The name of Richard Smith does not appear, from which we infer he may have been over sixty.

Mr. David Corwithy's

name does not appear in the list of males in Taunton in 1643, between sixteen and sixty. He was probably one of the older men in the settlement, and died without heirs of his own name.

A short time before the commencement of the Indian War in 1675, a catalogue of the proprietors at that time of the "ancient Taunton" was entered on the town book, preceded by a preamble of which the following is the commencement: "Whereas, by the Providence of God in the year 1638, and the year 1639, it pleased God to bring the most part of the first purchasers of Taunton over the great ocean into this wilderness, from our dear and native land, and after some small time here, we found this place, (called by the natives of the land Cohannet) in the colony of New-Plymouth, which in honor and in love to our dear and native country, we called Taunton, etc."

There are the names of seventy-two proprietors, exclusive of several claimants to John Strong's estate. The estate of David Corwithy is claimed by Nicholas White, Senior.*

Mr. Holloway.

This was probably William Holloway, one of "the first and ancient purchasers"—although the name of *Timothy* appears in 1643. There were several of that name in the early history of the town. Their descendants are now to be found throughout the country.

Mr. Nicholas Street

was the minister. He was at the same time, according to ancient Congregational usage, a *member* of the church, over which he had been installed as Teacher, and of which he subsequently became both Teacher and Pastor.

* Baylies 2nd part, p. 280.

Thomas Gilbert

was the son of Mr. John Gilbert, Senior. Fidelity to the records, which are meagre at the best, concerning the early settlers of Taunton, compels us to narrate a painful occurrence in the life of this Thomas Gilbert, which proves that in the best communities, and even in our churches, disorders may arise which call for discipline and rebuke. Gov. Winthrop, in his history of New-England, has given an account of the proceeding referred to, in the following official statement: "8th mo., Aug. 18, 1636. Thomas Gilbert brought before us. He was drunk at Sergeant Baulston's, and the constable being sent for, he struck him. He was kept in prison all night, and the next day, his father, John Gilbert, and his brother, John Gilbert of Dorchester, undertook in forty pounds that John Gilbert, the younger, would appear at Court to answer for him, and perform the order of the Court, etc. The reason was that he was to go to England presently and not known to have been in any way disordered, and was his father's oldest son, who was a grave, honest gentleman, etc. They did undertake also, that he should acknowledge his fault openly to the constable, etc." It is well that we have the testimony from the record that this was a most surprising, extraordinary incident in the history of Thomas Gilbert, "not known to have been in any way disordered." That he was not afterwards "disordered" in any such unseemly manner, is an inference from the fact, the good people of Taunton, of rigid Puritan practice, elected Thomas Gilbert to the General Court in 1651. In 1653, he went to England, where he died in 1676. He married Jane Rossiter, the daughter of Hugh Rossiter, which Mr. Baylies pronounces the *earliest* marriage in Taunton. His eldest son was Thomas,* the ancestor of Colonel Thomas Gilbert, a loyalist in the

* The following is copied from the Proprietor's Records in Taunton, and relates to this son.

Thomas Gilbert, mar. at Boston, to Anna Black of Milton, Dec. 18, 1676.

(1) Hannah, daughter of Thomas, born Sept. 28, 1677.

opening of the Revolution, who left New-England for Nova Scotia. His eldest daughter Jane was the wife of Samuel, the son of Richard Williams. The Gilberts are said to have been related to the Streets, but in what way, I know not.

Thomas Cooke

had a son bearing his name, older than sixteen in 1643, and the father was under sixty.

John Richmond

was "either above sixty or had gone to Rhode Island" in 1643. It was a son of his who, in 1675, was one of the Committee that "concluded and confirmed a list of the purchasers or proprietors of the township of Taunton."

John Richmond claimed "on the rights that were his father's, and on the rights that were Mr. Francis Douhtyes (Douty's") the latter being the same "master Doty," whom Leehford describes as "ordered by the magistrate," at the ordination of Hooke, and "forced to go away with his wife and children." The names of the sons and daughters of John Richmond (either the father or the son, the latter probably,) were copied from the Proprietors' Records by my friend, E. H. Reed, and are as follows:

(1) Dau. born at Bridgewater, June 2, 1654.
(2) John, born at Bridgewater, June 6, 1656.
(3) Thomas, born at Newport on Road Island, Feb. 2, 1658.
(4) Susanna, born at Bridgewater, Nov. 4, 1661.
(5) Joseph, born at Taunton, Dec. 8, 1663.
(6) Edward, " " Feb. 8, 1665.
(7) Samuel, " " Sept. 23, 1668.

(2) Sarah and Mary, twins, born Aug. 11, 1679.
(4) Thomas, born, July 11, 1681.
(5) Nathaniel, born, July 19, 1683.
(6) Mehitable, born, May 5, 1686.
Thomas, died Feb. 1, 1692.
Jane Gilbert, the mother of Thomas Gilbert, died June 1, 1691, aged 77.

(8) Sarah, born at Taunton, Feb. 26, 1670.
(9) John, " " Dec. 5, 1673.
(10) Ebenezer, born at Newport in R. I. May 12, 1676.
(11) Abigail, " " Feb. 26, 1678.

Hezekiah Hoar

was living in 1675. He was a brother of Richard Hoar, an early settler in Yarmouth, of John Hoar, an early settler in Scituate, and of Leonard Hoar, the third President of Harvard College. He was also cousin to Rev. Samuel Newman, of Rehoboth.* His lot in Taunton was on Dean street. The names of the sons and daughters of Hezekiah Hoar, as taken from the Proprietors' records, are:

(1) Marcy, born last of Jan. 1654.
(2) Nathaniel, " March, 1656.
(3) Sarah, born first of April, 1658.
(4) Elizabeth, born, May 26, 1660.
(5) Edward, born Sept. 25, 1663.
(6) Lydia, born March 24, 1662.
(7) Mary, born Sept. 22, 1669.
(8) Hezekiah, born Nov. 10, 1678.

Richard Paull

according to Mr. Baylies, "was dead previous to 1675, leaving children," but how many, or what their names, I have been unable to learn. Probably he left no son, as James Leonard, Jr., inherited his estate; nor did any proprietor of that year bear the name of Paull.

Hugh Rossiter

sold out sometime before 1675, to Joseph Willis, and went to Connecticut. It was his daughter, Jane, who married Thomas Gilbert.

* Rev. Samuel Deane, of Scituate, as quoted by Baylies.

Francis Street.

His relation to Rev. Nicholas Street is not known to us. He left, according to Mr. Baylies, "one daughter, Mary."*

John Gingell

left Taunton early; as Mr. Baylies thinks, for Lynn. His name has not been transmitted, so far as we know, in this section.

William Scadding's

name does not appear in the list of males, subject to military duty in 1643, or in 1675. John Briant claims on the rights of William Scadding, from which we infer, he did not remain in town, although either he, or some of his descendants probably have given their name to one of the most delightful sheets of water in town, known to this day as "Scadding's Pond."

* Baylies Hist. Memoir, part 2, page 282, note.

CHAPTER II.

REV. WILLIAM HOOKE — THE FIRST MINISTER OF TAUNTON.*

Of Mr. Hooke, the first pastor of the ancient church in Taunton, we know less than we could wish.† That he was a native of Southampton, England, the son of a gentleman, born in 1601, admitted to the degree of Bachelor of Arts in Trinity College, Oxford, in 1620; of Master of Arts in 1623, appears from the record in Wood's Fasti, examined and transcribed by Hon. James Savage in 1842.‡

"Collegium Trinit. 19 May, 1620.
William Hooke, Southamptoniensis, Generosi
filius, annos natus 19."
"Admitted to B. A., 28 June, 1620.
" " M. A., 26 May, 1623."§

At the early age of twenty-two, Mr. Hooke proceeded to the degree of Master of Arts in the most ancient and

* The substance of this sketch was first published by the compiler of this work in the "Christian Observatory," in 1848 — pp. 433–442.

† Desirous to learn something more concerning the ancestry of Hooke and the present condition of the family, if it be yet alive in the mother country, I sent some weeks since, through Rev. Dr. Bigelow, a letter of enquiry to his brother-in-law, Hon. Abbott Lawrence, our distinguished Ambassador to the Court of Great Britain, who kindly forwarded the same to Rev. Mr. Waddington, pastor of the Pilgrim Church at Southwark, from whom I am sorry to say, I have not yet heard. Should an answer arrive in season, it will appear in the appendix.

‡ Gleanings for New-England Hist. Mass. Hist. Coll. 3d Series — vol. 8, p. 249.

§ Fasti. oxon. 1: 392 orig. Reg. O. Folio 260 of the Oxford University.

respectable English University, "at which time," remarks Wood, "he was esteemed a close student, and a religious person." He received Orders in the Church of England, and became Vicar of Axmouth, in Devonshire, where he remained several years, preaching with too great fidelity to please the Throne. His non-conformity subjected him, no less than others, to serious embarrassments, which suggested the idea of emigrating to a more propitious land. He sought New-England, whither the eye of the ill-humored Wood followed him, for he says of him, "he continued his practices without control for some time."

In what year Hooke reached New-England, we do not know; but we first hear of him in the "Titiquet purchase," the shepherd of the flock which chose to rest in their weariness and wanderings, upon the banks of the Nistequahannock and the Wesquabenanset. Such men as Wilson of Boston and Mather of Dorchester inducted him into office, and gave him the cordial Right Hand of Christian Fellowship.* That they did not, in this instance, "lay hands suddenly" on the pastor elect, and introduce "a novice" into the work of the ministry, is apparent from the testimony of contemporaries, andthe character of the productions which have survived him. Cotton Mather says of him, "he was a learned, holy and humble man." Dr. Trumbull, the historian of Connecticut, also makes mention of him, as a man "of great learning and piety, and possessing excellent pulpit talents."

Johnson, in his "Wonder working Providence," enumerating "the great supply of godly ministers for the good of

*Lechford on p. 54 of his pamphlet "newes from New-England" states this, although in another connection he says, "master Hooke received ordination from the hands of one master Bishop, a schoolmaster, and one Parker, a husbandman, and then master Hooke joyned in ordaining master Street." (P. 40.)

His people in New-England," does not fail to include Mr. Hooke in the number, but directs attention to him in this form: "As also the reverend and faithful servant of Christ Jesus, Mr. William Hooke, who was for some space of time at the church in Taunton, but now remaines called to office in the church of Christ at New-Haven, a man who hath received of Christ many gracious gifts, fit for so high a calling, with very amiable and gracious speech laboring in the Lord."*

Mr. Hooke remained in Taunton not far from seven years. During which time the small settlement of Cohannet enjoyed the united services of himself and Mr. Nicholas Street, the one as Pastor, the other as Teacher.† At length invited to succeed Samuel Eaton, the brother of Theophilus Eaton, the founder and first governor of New-Haven, Mr. Hooke accepted the call to be associated with the famous John Davenport, in the care of the New-Haven church, and, probably sometime during the years of 1644-45, was installed as *Teacher*. Cotton Mather gives us the text of his first sermon at New-Haven, "Go thou with Phurah, thy servant." (Judges, 7: 10.) From him also we learn the doctrine of the discourse, which "he humbly raised" from the text humbly chosen, viz: "That in great services a little help is better than none."‡ If

* Chap. 16, p. 21.

† "The office of Pastor and Teacher, appears to be distinct. The Pastor's special work is to attend to exhortation, and therein to administer a word of wisdom; the Teacher is to attend to doctrine, and therein to administer a word of knowledge: and either of them to administer the seals of that covenant, into the dispensation whereof they are alike called; as also to execute the censures, being but a kind of application of the word: the preaching of which, together with the application thereof, they are alike charged withal."—(Cambridge Platform, chap. 6, sect. 5.)

‡ Magnalia, III. 214. We can rely upon this statement of Mather, better than upon his chronology. For example: He assigns the settlement in New-Haven to 1640, or 41, to which opinion Mr. Baylies is inclined; but Trumbull, in his history of Connecticut, says it was in

the New-Haven Teacher, in his lowliness of mind, placed such a low estimate upon his labors, we may be sure not even Mr. Davenport regarded the "help" of such a man as William Hooke "little."*

In a letter from Davenport "to the Right Worshipful John Winthrope, Esq., Governore of Connectacute," we find a very affectionate allusion made to his "brother Hooke," as "valetudinarious, having bene afflicted with a very great fluxe of Rheume, accompanied with an Erisipilus unto danger of death — his wife also hath her bodily infirmities." Dr. Bacon, in his "Historical Discourses" concerning the New-Haven church, makes honorable mention of the associate of Mr. Davenport. After quoting, at some length from one of his sermons, he appears quite willing to leave it on record as an enduring "specimen of their first teacher's style of preaching;" at the same time asking, "whether those who are most accustomed to depreciate the intellectual and moral character of our ancestors must not own that such a specimen refutes their prejudices?" Hooke remained in New-Haven not far from twelve years. His wife, a sister of Edward Whalley, who was one of the judges in the trial of Charles I., departed for England in 1654; and two years afterward, in 1656, Mr. Hooke himself followed.† His return in the circum-

1644, which must be nearer the truth, for we have a Fast Day sermon in our possession which was preached by "William Hooke, minister of God's Word at Taunton" after the period assigned to his removal.

* The fact of his being Teacher in the church indicated no inferiority or subordination in his official relation to the church. The Pastor and Teacher were coördinate officers, and, as Dr. Bacon remarks, "in the highest sense, ministers of the Gospel." Hooke in his humility speaks of "being joined with so considerable a Gideon as Mr. Davenport." The connection was one of mutual satisfaction and profit.

† Town Records of New-Haven.

stances was not surprising. He may have felt that, in the Providence of God, the time had come, when he could do most for the infant settlement in New-England by his personal presence in the mother country. The Protector was, by marriage, his cousin: his brother-in-law,* Whalley, was one of the eight military lords, who exercised jurisdiction over the eight districts, into which the Protector had divided the realm. It is to be supposed that such a near relative and intimate friend of Cromwell hoped to exert no little influence in the Commonwealth of England. On his return to that land he is at once admitted into the Protector's family, as domestic chaplain, and honored with his fullest confidence. His associates, in that capacity, were such men as John Howe, and Hugh Peters, whilst John Milton was another name which lent its influence to that administration, as one of the "five Secretaries of the French and Latin tongues." How extended was the influence which Hooke exerted for New-England may never appear — but it is known, that he was in correspondence with leading characters in this country, and sought to enlist others in the work of inter-communication. "He hath prevailed with a kinsman of yours, (writes Davenport to Winthrope) to wright unto you the story of these late years in England, whom he commends for great wit, parts, and copious language, and choise for intelligence, &c." In

* The relation of Whalley as well as Goffe, two of the Regicides, who after the Restoration took refuge in this country, to Hooke is indicated in the following postscript to a letter written by Mr. Davenport to Gov. Winthrope in 1660. It is to be found on a little piece of paper, wafered to the side of the original letter:

"Sir: I mistooke, in my letter, when I said Colonel Whalye was one of the gentlemen &c. It is Commissary Generall Whaley, sister Hooke's brother, and his son in law, who is with him is Colonel Goffe; boath godly men and escaped pursuit in England narrowly.

"New-Haven, ye 11th d. of the 6th m. 1660. Etiam atque etiam vale.'

the valuable collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, are to be found many letters which were probably elicited by Hooke's interest in New-England. One of them from John Maidson makes reference to the "kind remembrance" of himself through a letter recently received by Mr. Hooke from His Excellency, John Winthrope. A letter from Hooke to Winthrope found in the first volume of the Series of the Society's Collections, so clearly presents the mutual high regard of the parties,— contains so much of historical incident, at the same time unveiling the heart of him who wrote it, that it is inserted in the Appendix, to this chapter.*

Mr. Hooke not only officiated as chaplain at Whitehall, but was also charged with "the mastership of the Hospital called the Savoy, in the city of Westminster." Thus situated, the sphere of the Taunton minister was considerably enlarged. He had indeed been privileged with intelligent and influential auditors in this country. The most gifted persons in the Plymouth and New-Haven colonies had listened with satisfaction to his public instructions. He was permitted to bear an important part in forming the habits and moulding the character of an incipient Commonwealth. But there, in the metropolis of Great Britain, in the centre of the most enlightened and powerful people in the world, with ready access to the ear of its present Sovereign, under the name of Protector—his confidant, and counsellor, how natural to suppose that the post were more influential and important. But who can rely on any human foresight or calculation! The Protector soon died. A second Charles, baser and less fitted, if possible, for his position than the first, takes the throne.

* Note A.

The Commonwealth is at an end. The chaplaincy of Whitehall no longer exists. The master of the Savoy is silenced. A relative and confidential adviser of Cromwell —a brother-in-law of one, and an uncle of yet another, who in their judicial capacity pronounced Charles I., guilty of treason, and signed his death-warrant,— conspicuous in the history of the Commonwealth, Hooke was the last man to find favor with the licentious Charles, or his profligate Court. It is not surprising he was ejected from the pulpit and otherwise persecuted. Doubtless he more than once wished himself back again in this wilder, but freer and happier western world. The regicides, Whalley and Goffe, found a refuge from the wrath of the king, in the very town where the twelve years' ministry of William Hooke had prepared the way for them.* Nor was Mr. Davenport wanting to the refugees in their perilous exposure to search-warrants and seizure. Dr. Stiles relates, that "about the time the pursuers came to New-Haven, and perhaps a little before, and to prepare the minds of the people for their reception, the Rev. Mr. Davenport preached publicly from this text: Isaiah xvi., 3-4,—Take counsel, execute judgment, make thy shadow as the night, etc." Several sermons of Davenport, of the same tenor, from these and kindred words, enjoining it upon God's people to "hide the outcasts, and bewray not him that wandereth," were printed in London in 1661 under the title of the "Saints' Anchor-Hold," with a preface by William Hooke.† Hooke had his former friends in New-

* Dr. Bacon says: "The regicides had special reasons to expect the most friendly treatment in New-Haven. The sister of Gen. Whalley, Mrs. Hooke, had long resided here, her husband being for twelve years Mr. Davenport's colleague in the work of the ministry."

† I have never seen the book, but derive the fact from Dr. Bacon, who refers to it—"the only copy heard of" by him, and this imperfect, as in the present possession of a descendant of Davenport, Mrs. Whelpley.

England in kind remembrance. In 1671, he addressed his New-Haven charge a letter, in which he confirms their title to what was known as the "Hooke lot,"* and prescribes certain terms in the donation, which we are sorry to add, on the authority of Dr. Bacon, have not been strictly complied with. That he was mindful of his former flock, appears not only from his liberal gift, but from the declarations of his letter:

"Brethren, I daily have you in remembrance before the Lord, as retaining my old brotherly affection towards you, desiring the return of your prayers and brotherly love for him, in whose heart you have a great interest. The Father of mercy be with you all, dwell in the midst of you, fill you with all joy and peace in believing, and bring you to His everlasting kingdom in glory, through Jesus Christ, in whom I rest."

That the writer was able to find rest and peace in Jesus, in such "troublous times," is a pleasing evidence of his good estate. Mr. Hooke had been made a dispenser of the charities of the New-Haven church among the "poor ministers and ministers' widows" in England. In acknowledging it, he adds:

"This fruit of your bounty is very thankfully received, and acknowledged by us, and the good Lord make all grace to abound towards you."

* "Hooke's lot" in Taunton comprised the land lying between the "Mill river," the road leading over "Street's Bridge," (which was the original, and only road in the town for a long course of years, now called Spring Street,) Summer Street, Main Street, and a line running from the present site of the Taunton Bank to the river. Mrs. Pool's lot joined "Hooke's house lot," and extended on the river, back to the present Court House, including all the land *south* of "the Green," (the old training field.) down to the river. Street's lot was on the opposite side of the river, and was connected with the Hooke and Pool lots by "Street's bridge," the first and *only* bridge for many years.

This may be regarded as the dying benediction of a great and good man. He led a comparatively retired life, for a few years, and at length was permitted to die a peaceful death in or near London, March 21, 1678,* at the advanced age of seventy-seven. Having borne a part in that "slaughter of the witnesses" of which he has publicly treated, he "went," as Mather well remarks, "from the privileges of labors among the saints on earth, to those of rewards among the saints in heaven." His body rests "in the sleeping place on the north side of the new Artillery Garden," an honored associate of Puritans and Dissenters "in the cemetery of Bunhill-fields."

The printed productions of Mr. Hooke, as registered by Wood, are:

"New-England's Tears for Old England's fears,"—Fast Sermon. Printed 1640-41, in qu.

Sermon on Job 2: 12. Printed 1641, in qu.

Sermon in New-England in behalf of Old England, etc., printed 1645, in qu., and others.

"The Privileges of the Saints on Earth beyond those in Heaven, etc." London, 1673, in oct.

"A Discourse of the Gospel Day," printed with the former book.

"He had a hand also in a Catechism published under the name of John Davenport, and hath written other things which I have not yet seen."

To this catalogue we may add from Calamy, "The Slaughter of the Witnesses,"—and "a sermon in the supplement to the morning exercises."

Dr. Bacon says, "only one of these is known to be in

* Baylies, following Mather, who is not the most accurate chronologist, says 1677. I adopt the date of Dr. Bacon.

existence in this country," viz: the "Fast Day Sermon" of 1640, from which he makes liberal extracts, and of this single sermon, he supposes but a single copy "exists in the country," viz: "in the Library of Harvard University." When a year or two since President Everett kindly obtained for me the loan of this last named production, and I undertook to transcribe it entire, I then supposed, (to adopt the expression of Pres. E.,) it was a "unique copy," and no duplicate existed in this country.* Since then, however, I have seen the identical sermon in the invaluable "Prince Collection," sacredly preserved in the Old South Chapel, Boston. It is safely laid away on one of the shelves in the Worcester Library. An unknown correspondent of the New-York Independent has claimed the quiet possession of it. Charles Deane, Esq., of Boston, informs me he is its happy owner. And yet another copy quite unexpectedly came to light, treasured up amongst the choicest specimens of our fathers, by my esteemed friend, J. Wingate Thornton, Esq., of Roxbury, a descendant by marriage of Rev. Josiah Crocker, the sixth Taunton minister. It is from his copy, kindly loaned me, the reprint in the present volume is accurately made. The author of a brief notice of Hooke, in a weekly sheet in Taunton, in 1833, and others copying from him, have called this "the first sermon printed in America." It has not that honor. It was printed in London. Nor was it the first New-England sermon printed there, if we concede to the admirable discourse of Robert Cushman "on the sin

* Mr. Savage, in his explorations at the British Museum, found that this sermon constituted the fifth number of the twelfth volume of a collection of some two thousand books and pamphlets, issuing from the press from 1640 to about the time of the Revolution, and presented by George III., to this magnificent Institution.

and danger of self-love," delivered inthe Plymouth Colony in 1621, that name. He was about a month here, and returned to England on pressing business only to die. The first specimen of printing in the New-England Colonies was in 1639, only a month or two before Hooke preached his sermon; and Stephen Daye, and Samuel Green, the Proprietors of that solitary press, found the printing of the "Freeman's Oath, an Almanac, and the old New-England version of the Psalms," enough to occupy their time, aside from sermons.

A *second* fast day sermon, preached in Taunton by Hooke, and printed in 1645, has also found its way to this country. It was purchased in London for the Cambridge Library by Henry Stevens, Esq., "with the bequest of Hon. Wm. Prescott of Boston." It was received and registered May 1st, 1845, two hundred years precisely after it was first printed in "Old England."* The work of Hooke's old age, "The Privileges of the Saints on Earth beyond those in Heaven,"† with the "Gospel Day" appended, is to be found in the "Prince Collection," in the Old South Chapel, "to remain therein," according to the conditions of the donor, "forever." The discourse concerning "The Witnesses" is in the Worcester Library, and appears to have been printed after the author's death.‡

* The date of this sermon conclusively proves that Mr. Hooke must have remained in Taunton longer than some have supposed. This sermon has been transcribed at length by the Rev. Mr. Brigham of Taunton, and read to his people, — a beautiful specimen of chirography, designed for the archives of his church. The reprint in this volume is from the copy in Cambridge Library, kindly loaned me for that purpose by President Sparks, the only printed copy probably to be found in the country.

† Note B. ‡ Note C.

NEW ENGLANDS TEARES, FOR OLD ENGLANDS FEARES.

Preached in a Sermon on *July* 23.

1640 being a day of Publike Humiliation, appointed by the Churches in behalf of our native Countrey in time of feared dangers.

By William Hooke, Minister of Gods Word; sometimes of *Axmouth* in *Devonshire*, now of *Taunton*, in *New-England*.

Sent over to a worthy Member of the honourable House of Commons, who desires it may be for publike good.

LONDON,

Printed by E. *G.* for *Iohn Rothwell* and *Henry Overton*, and are to be sould at the Sunne in *Pauls* Church-yard, and in Popes-head Alley. 1641.

To the Reader.

Courteous Reader,

Hou hast here presented to thy view, a Sermon preached to some in *New-England* for *Old Englands* sake; wherein is expressed much love to a Countrey left. It was once imputed to *Anaxagoras*, that hee cared not for his Countrey, because hee seemed to bee little moved with the ruins thereof. This cannot be imputed to our brethren of *New-England*; for they, not seeing, nor hearing of, onely fearing the ruines of this our Countrey, were deeply affected with it: a signe they love us. Some have applyed that of the Apostle to them, 1 *John* 2. 19. *(They went out from us, because they were not of us; for if they had been of us, they would no doubt have continued with us,* but how falsely it is applied, this Sermon doth discover; for certainly *they are of us*, though *they be gone from us, for if they were not of us,* their affections would not have so *continued to us*, as to fast and pray for us. *Amor pofcit amorem.* Let our affections bee endeared to them.

As

As for this Sermon, expect not eare-pleasing, but heart-affecting phrases in it : the Author sought not so much to please as to profit ; not to inform the judgement, as to work upon the affections ; If thou bring thy heart with thee to the Reading of it, thou mayst find thy heart melting by Reading of it, and then thou shalt have cause to blesse God for it. *vale.*

NEW ENGLANDS TEARES FOR, OLD ENGLANDS FEARES.

Job. 2. 13.

So they sate down with him upon the ground seven dayes and seven nights, and none spake a word unto him, for they saw that his griefe was very great.

THE words are spoken of *Iobs* three friends who were now come to visite him, and sympathise with him in the time of his distresse. They had made an appointment thus to doe, *ver.* 11. *viz:* to come to mourne with him, and comfort him. For thus the godly should send to one another in like case and acquaint one another with the sorrowes and calamities of their friends and brethren, and agree to contribute

tribute and cast in their sorrowes and sympathize when their friends are afflicted. A godly practice, and which the Churches in this Land doe well this day to imitate.

Now then are *Jobs* friends comming towards him, and *when they lift up their eyes a far off, they knew him not, &c.* Affliction may so alter the outward face of things and friends, that ancient acquaintance may not know them. Upon this, *they sate down with him upon the ground, &c.*

Observ. The summe of what is now read unto you, is the sympathy of *Iobs* friends in the time of his calamity; and from it we may observe this point.

That it is the part of true friends and brethren, to sympathize and fellow-feele with their brethren and friends when the hand of God is upon them. For thus, you see, did *Iobs* three friends here doe, and they performed a very brotherly office of love in so doing. When therefore afterwards their hearts grew more hard towards him, he cals upon them for the same compassions, *Have pity upon mee, have pity upon mee, O yee my friends, for the hand of the Lord hath touched mee.* From whence wee may likewise collect, that *when the hand of God hath touched a friend, all his friends should have tender pity upon him.* And such affections have the godly shewn forth, as wee finde in scripture. *Who is weake*, saith *Paul*, *and I am not weake? Who is offended, and I, burne not?* When *David* was in great heavinesse, as being under a great affliction by the rebellious insurrection of the sonne of his own loynes against him, *Mephibosheth*, the sonne of *Ionathan*, *Davids* deare friend, did neither dresse his feet, nor trimme his beard, nor wash his clothes, until the day that the King returned

Job, 19, 21

2 Cor. 11. 19.

2 Sam. 19, 20.

returned in peace. And *Ieremy* writes a booke of Lamentations for *Iudahs* misery, though himselfe had then his life given him for a prey. When the naturall body of Christ was to suffer, hee said to his friends, *Weepe not for mee, but weepe for your selves*; but when his mysticall body suffers, hee expects that wee should not weepe so much for ourselves as for him.

Nay, *David* sympathizeth with his very enemies; *As for me, when they were sicke, my clothing was Sack-cloth, and I humbled my soule by fasting; I behaved my selfe as though hee had beene my friend or brother, I bowed downe heavily as one that mourned for his Mother*, Psalme 35. 13, 14. Whence wee gather, what our affections and behaviours ought to bee for our friends, brethren, and Mother, in their distresse. Yea, which is yet more, wee finde one wicked man fellow-feeling for another. *Ahaziah*, a wicked King went downe to visite wicked *Ioram* the son of *Ahab*, because hee was sicke, 2 *King.* 8. 27, 29. And both God and his Church and Children will complaine in the want of this brotherly affection. *Among all her Lovers*, saith *Ieremy*, *shee hath none to comfort her* Lam. 1. 2. It was indeed *Ierusalems* misery not to bee pitied, but withall it was her Lovers sinne. Therefore, shee complains, vers. 12: *Is it nothing unto you all yee that passe by? Behold and see, if there be any sorrow like unto my sorrow, &c.* Againe, *I called for my Lovers, but they deceived mee.* And *Obadiah* propheci-
eth against *Edom* for their cruelty, and want of Ver. 19.
compassion with their brethren of *Iudah* in the day of their distresse. When Christ is any way afflicted, hee expecteth to be pitied, and will openly condemn Matth. 25.
them before all the world that omit this duty.

And

And that parabolicall speech of Christ to the Jewes, of children sitting in the Market place, and calling one to another, and saying; *Wee have mourned to you and yee have not wept*, is taken from this ground, that it is matter of just complaint, if, when friends doe mourne, their fellowes doe not weepe.

Luke 7. 32.

But the Scriptures are expresse in the command of this *sympathy*. *Rejoyce with them that rejoyce, and weepe with them that weepe; be of the same mind one toward another.* When the Apostle had said, *Let brotherly love continue;* in the verses following hee instanceth in two duties thereof; first, *in entertaining strangers;* secondly, *In remembering those that are in bonds, as bound with them, and them that suffer adversity as being our selves also in the same body.* God doth then expressly require this part of brotherly love. The Doctrine is cleare enough, *It is the part of true friends, &c. A friend loveth at all times, and a brother is borne for adversity.*

Ro. 12.15,26

Heb. 13.1,2,3

Prov. 17. 17.

Reasons.

Because they are members of the same body; the Reason intimated by the Apostle, *Remember them that are in adversity, as being your selves also in the same body.* Now it is the part of one member to fellow-feele with another. When the *Shunamites* son was sick, especially in one part, his whole body complained, saying, *My head, my head.* This made *David* to say, *for my brethren and companions sake, I will say, peace be within thee.* He desired the peace of *Ierusalem*, because of his brethren and companions there, how were as it were, bone of his bone.

2 King 4, 19.

Psal. 122, 8.

2. It

2. It is a great lightning of the afflictions of brethren to be bemoaned by brethren and friends in time of affliction. *Solamen miseris socios, &c.* sociall sorrowes doe somewhat solace the miserable. Which we see in *Ierusalems* Complaint, for want of pity from her Lovers, and *Iobs* (at last) from his friends. Now it is the part of friends and fellowes to beare one anothers burdens. Yea it is of the Law of Christ, which is the Law of Love. And surely if a man doth but see his horse over-burdened, hee will run presently and lighten the loade that is upon him. Gal. 6, 2.

3. Againe; Consider that it may bee the case of friends themselves, who then would bee glad to be sympathized with. A man that hath friends, saith *Solomon* must carry himselfe friendly. Hee may soone els loose his friends when hee expects to be dealt with friendly by them. One reason why *mercy rejoyceth against judgement*, is because as it hath yeelded mercy to others in time of judgement, so now it expects the same from them in like case. Prov. 18, last

4. Lastly, It is an easie service of Love. It cost *Iobs* friends but little to come and bestow their teares and their sorrowes upon him, What can a friend do lesse? true friendship and brotherhood goes further, it will, nay it must, if need be, lay downe its life for the brethren. 1 Joh. 3, 16

Vse.

1. Before I come to the maine use which I ayme at, I will speake a few words, by way of Information, to shew how farre they are from being friends or brethren, who are

are ready to rejoyce at the afflictions and miseries of others. A right Edomitish quality; for *Edom* rejoyced over the children of *Iudah* in the day of their destruction, and spake proudly in the day of their distresse: and these were a cursed generation. And indeed the Psalmist implyes it to bee a property of abjects thus to doe: *In mine adversity they rejoyced, and gathered themselves together, yea the abjects, (i. e.* the cast-wayes) *gathered themselves together.* And it is commonly observed, that men and women who have turned Witches, and been in league with the devill, thereby to doe mischiefe, are never given over so to doe, till they begin to have an evill eye, which grieveth at the prosperity, and rejoyceth at the misery of others. Hence Witchcraft is described by an evill eye.

Obad. ver. 12

Psal. 35, 15.

I know not what eye hath bewitched my young Lambes. And when any are bewitched, it is a phrase of speech among many to say, they are over-seene, *i. e.* lookt upon with a malicious eye. Nay, it is the property of the devill to bee thus affected. Mans prosperity is his paine, and mans adversity his rejoycing, as wee see in *Iob;* neither is there (scarce) anything that doth more import the seed of the Serpent in a man, then this same επιχαιρεκακια, rejoycing in the evil and misery of another. It is then the property of Edomites, abjects, witches and devills, to rejoyce in the misery that befalleth others. And though I am not able to charge any of you with this cursed affection, yet I doe wish you to looke into your owne hearts; for this I am sure, here are strong temptations sometimes, leading towards it in this Land, which when they meete with an heart voyd of grace, must needs stirre up the disposition in it, and not only emulations

Nescio quis teneros oculus mihi fascinat agnos.

emulations and envyings, but witchcraft it selfe is a worke of the flesh.

2. But the use that I doe principally intend, is of Exhortation to you all, as you desire to approve your selves the true friend and brethren of your deare Country-men in old *England*, to condole with them this day in their afflictions. *Jobs* friends, you see, did it for him seven dayes and seven nights, *i. e.* many dayes. O let us doe it then this one day; at least, for these. Gal. 5. 19 20

Indeed when we looke upon our selves at this time in this Land, the Lord hath given us great cause of rejoyce ing, both in respect of civill and spirituall peace. God hath at once subdued the proud *Pequots* and the proud opinions that rose up in this Land: and for plenty, never had the Land the like. Yea, which is much better, the Word of God growes and multiplyeth; the Churches have rest throughout the whole land, and are edified, and walking in the feare of the Lord and in the comfort of the holy Ghost, are multiplyed. This is much, and more it would be, if the edge of these and other our comforts were not this day turned by the feare of civill strifes and combustions in the land of our Nativity, which doe not a little abate the sweetnesse of all other our happinesse to us, and call for Lamentation and sackecloth at our hands. Acts 12. Acts 9, 31.

When *Artaxerxes* said unto *Nehemiah*, *Why is thy countenance sad, seeing thou art not sicke?* Have you not read the answer? *Why should not my countenance be sad, when the City, the place of my Fathers sepulchres lyes waste, & the gates thereof are consumed with fire?* Why? *Nehemiah* was well enough at ease, he had honour, and power, and favour, and pleasure enough, Neh. 2, 3.

and being the Kings Cup-bearer, hee had Wine enough of all sorts at his command, which maketh glad the heart of man. But what is all this not to cloud his countenance, and overcast it with griefe and sorrow, when the City of his Fathers was layd wast, and the gates thereof consumed with fire? Thus beloved, if our comforts were treble to what they are this day, yet could it not but much abate the sweetnesse of them, to consider what distresses may lie at this time upon our native Countrey, for ought we know, and to have too just cause to feare. When the Arke and Israel and Judah abode in tents, and *Joab* and his men were encamped in the open fields, *Uriah* tooke no comfort in his beautifull wife, nor in his house, nor in his meate and drinke.

2 Sam. 11. 11

Let us therefore, I beseech you, lay aside the thoughts of all our comforts this day, and let us fasten our eyes upon the calamities of our brethren in old *England*, calamities, at least, imminent calamities dropping, swords that have hung a long time over their heads by a twine thread, judgements long since threatned as foreseene by many of Gods Messengers in the causes, though not foretold by a Spirit prophetically guided: heavy judgements in all probability, when they fall, if they are not fallen already. And not to looke upon the occasions given on the one side or the other, betweene the two Sister Nations: (Sister Nations? ah, the word woundeth,) let us looke this day simply on the event, a sad event in all likelihood, the dividing of a King from his Subjects, and him from them, their mutuall taking up of Armes in opposition and defence; the consequences, even the gloomy and darke consequences thereof, are killing and slaying, and sacking and burning, and robbing, and rifling, cursing and blaspheming, &c.

If

If you should but see Warre described to you in a Map, especially in a Countrey, well knowne to you, nay dearely beloved of you, where you drew your first breath, where once, yea where lately you dwelt, where you have received ten thousand mercies, and have many a deare friend and Countrey-man and kinsman abiding, how could you but lament and mourne?

Warre is the conflict of enemies enraged with bloody revenge, wherein the parties opposite carry their lives in their hands, every man turning prodigall of his very heart blood, and willing to be killed to kill. The instruments are clashing swords, riding speares, skul-dividing Holberds, murthering pieces, and thundering Cannons, from whose mouthes proceed the fire, and smell, and smoake, and terrour, death, as it were, of the very bottomlesse pit. Wee wonder now and then at the sudden death of a man: alas, you might there see a thousand men not onely healthy, but stout and strong, struck dead in the twinckling of an eye, their breath exhales without so much as, *Lord have mercy upon us.* Death heweth its way thorow a wood of men in a minute of time from the mouth of a murderer, turning a forrest into a Champion suddenly; and when it hath used these to slay their opposites, they are recompenced with the like death themselves. *O, the shrill care-piercing clangs of the Trumpets, noise of Drums, the animating voyces of Horse Captaines, and Commanders, learned and learning to destroy! There is the undaunted Horse whose neck is clothed with thunder, and the glory of whose nostrills is terrible; how doth hee lye pawing and prauncing in the valley, going forth to meete the armed men? he mocks at feare, swallowing the ground with fiercenesse and rage, and saying among the trumpets, Ha, Ha,*

Job 39,19,20 &c. *Ha, hee smels the battell a far off, the thunder of the Captaines and the shouting.* Here ride some dead men swagging in their deepe saddles; there fall others alive upon their dead Horses; death sends a message to those from the mouth of the Muskets, these it talkes with face to face, and stabs them in the fift rib: In yonder file there is a man hath his arme struck off from his shoulder, another by him hath lost his leg; here stands a Soldier with halfe a face, there fights another upon his stumps, and at once both kils and is killed; not far off lies a company wallowing in their sweat and goare; such a man whilst he chargeth his Musket is discharg'd of his life, and falls upon his dead fellow. Every battell of the warriour is with confused noise and garments rouled in blood. Death reignes in the field, and is sure to have the day which side soever falls. In the meanewhile (O formidable!) the infernall fiends follow the Campe to catch after the soules of rude nefarous souldiers (such as are commonly men of that calling) who fight themselves fearlesly into the mouth of hell for revenge, a booty or a little revenue. How thicke and three-fole doe they speed one another to destruction? A day of battell is a day of harvest for the devill.

Isa. 9, 6.

All this while, the poore wife and tender children sit weeping togedher at home, having taken their late farewell of the harnessed husband and father (O it was a sad parting if you had seen it!) never looking to see his face againe, as indeed many and the most of them never doe; for anon comes *Ely's* messenger from the Camp saying, *There is a great slaughter among the people, and your husband is dead, your father is dead, hee was slaine in an hot fight, hee was shot dead in the place*

1 Sam. 4, 17

place & never spake a word more. Then the poore widow who fed yet upon a crumb of hope, teares her haire from her head, rends her cloths, wrings her hands, lifts up her voyce to Heaven, and weeps like *Rachell* that would not bee comforted, her children hang about her crying and saying, O my father is slaine, my father is dead, I shall never see my father more; and so they cry and sob and sigh out their afflicted soules, and breake their hearts together. Alas, alas! this is yet but Warre thorow a Crevise. Beloved, doe but consider; There is many times fire without warre, and famine and pestilence without warre, but war is never without them; and there are many times robberies without war, and murthering of passengers, ravishing of matrons, deflouring of virgins, cruelties and torments, and sometimes barbarous and inhumane practices without war, but war goes seldome or never without them.

Warre, it is *malum complexum*, a compound of Judgements, a mixt misery, *the cup in the hand of the Lord, the wine whereof is red, and it is full of mixture.* Psal. 75, 8. The Wine is indeed as red as blood, and the ingredients are fire, famine, pestilence, murthers, robberies, rapes, deflourings, cruelties, torment, with many other miseries. The voyce of melody ceaseth, relation that were lately the comfort and now become the griefe of the life of men; *the high wayes are unoccupied, the travellers walke thorow by wayes, the Inhabitants of the villages cease, and the noise of the Archers is heard in the places of drawing water.* Judges, 5,6,7 14. Warre, it is the immediate hand of such whose tenderest mercies are cruelties, commonly therefore the last of Gods Stroakes upon them that will take no warning. 2 Sam. 24,14 But yet there is difference in warres; a warre in the borders

of an enemy is held better than a warre in ones native Countrey; for commonly, the Land that is as the Garden of *Eden* before an enemy, behind them is like a desolate Wildernesse; and it is very wofull when people and land shall be wasted together. Or if it bee warre in our owne Land, yet a warre against a forreigne enemy invading, is farre better than a civill warre. It is grievous, but not admirable, to see an Egyptian and an Hebrew contending, but to see, as the Prophet sayth, Egyptians against Egyptians, and every one fighting against his brother, and against his neighbour, City against City, and Kingdome against Kingdome; or to see, as the same Prophet saith, *Manasseh* against *Ephraim* and *Ephraim* against *Manasseh*, and both against *Iudah*; O, this is both lamentable and wonderfull! The mad Souldier in the heat of his blood, and the depth of his Atheisme, may account it perhaps at first with *Abner* but a play to see *Israelites* catching of *Israelites* by the beard, and thrusting their swords into one anothers sides: but of all warres none so bloody, neither hath any play such bitternesse in the end.

Ioel, 2, 3.

Isa. 19, 2.

Isa. 9, 21.

2 Sam. 24, 17 16.

It is a sad play, wherein not only mens goods, and bodies, and soules, doe commonly lye at stake, but wherein also even the very Conquerour is conquered, as one that played but for his owne money, and at such a desperate play, whose very gaines are loosings. No warres so cruell, so unnaturall, so desolating, as Civill warres. You have heard, Beloved, of the dreadfull German-warres; why if there bee any in our owne Countrey this day, I may call them German-warres, because they are the warres of Germans, even the bloody contentions of brethren; and when

when relations turne opposites, nothing more opposite. A Kingdom at warres with a forreigne enemy may stand, but a Kingdome divided against it selfe, can never; there can never bee prosperity within *Ierusalems* pallaces, if first there bee not peace within her wals. Unity and peace are a bond, and where that is broken, there must needs follow dissolution.

Psal. 122. 7.

Ephes. 4, 3.

When the *Philistins* went beating downe one another, *the multitude* (marke the word) *melted away*. A thing never consumes faster, then when it falls to melting: and how doe such weaken themselves for an enemy without, and fight for the conquest of some forreigne adversary; *Gideons* men may stand still every man in his place, so long as Midianites turne their swords against Midianites. Neither needs *Iehosaphat* strike a stroke, when the Moabites, Ammonites and Edomites his enemies, lie in ambush one against another; first *Moab* and *Ammon* fighting against *Edom*, and then *Moab* and *Ammon* one against another. And what was the issue of the eleven Tribes warres with their brother *Benjamin*, but lamentation, mourning and woe? And yet too among civill warres; some are worse than other. I have read, I remember, in *Lucan*, of warres betweene *Cæsar* and *Pompey* worse than civill; and such especially are mutining warres, when there is little trust to either side, and friends are scarce knowne from foes, but all things are filled with conjurations, treacheries, distractions, factions, feares, suspicions, tumults, combustions, spoylings, &c. The Lord be mercifull to old *England*, as hitherto hee hath beene, yea more than to any Land this day under the Sunne

1 Sam. 14, 16

Judg. 7, 21, 20

Chron. 22. 2

Judg. 21, 2, 3, 6.

——*In quo discordia cives Perdurit miseres. Bella per Æmathios plusquam civilia campos.*

Sunne, which indeed heightneth its sins above the Sunne, and makes it more sinfull then any Land at this time in the whole World, insomuch, that we cannot but yeeld that there are no warres that *Englands* sinnes have not deserved. Let us therefore feare the worst at this present in behalfe of our deare Countrey-men (considering also what ill tydings we have heard thence) that nothing, as wee doubt, but a miracle of divine power and mercy can preserve them from the miseries of the devouring sword. I remember what the auxiliaries of Egypt said in their distresse, *Arise, and let us goe againe unto our people, and to the Land of our Nativitie from the oppressing sword;* but if wee were now under that misery I doubt it would be in vaine for us to say the like. But that which wee are now called unto, is brotherly Compassion, and to doe the part of *Iobs* friends in my Text, to sit astonished, as at the crying sinnes, so at the feared sorrowes of our Countrymen, for in all probability, their griefe is very great.

Jer. 46. 16.

To this end, you may think a while upon these particulars.

1. Of our civill relation to that Land, and the Inhabitants therein. There is no Land that claimes our name, but *England*, wee are distinguished from all the Nations in the world by the name of *English*. There is no Potentate breathing, that wee call our dread Soveraigne, but King CHARLES, nor Lawes of any Land have civilized us but *Englands;* there is no Nation that calls us Countrey-men but the *English*. Brethren! Did wee not there draw in our first breath? Did not the Sunne first shine there upon our heads? Did not that Land first beare us, even that pleasant Island, but for sinne, I would say, that Garden of the Lord, that Paradise? Withall

2. Withall, let us thinke upon our naturall relations to many in that Land. Some of you, I know, have Fathers and Mothers there, some of you have Brethren and Sisters, others of you have Uncles and Aunts there, and near kinsfolke. All these sitting in griefe and sorrow, challenge our sympathize: and it is a fearfull sinne to bee voyd of naturall affections: nature wrought in *Abraham*, as well as grace, when his nephew *Lot* was taken captive by the foure Kings. Rom. 1. 31. Gen. 14.

3. But which is more, let us remember how (for many of us) wee stand in a spirituall relation to many, yea very many in that Land. The same threed of grace is spunne thorow the hearts of all the godly under Heaven. Such a one there is, in thy spirituall Father, hee begot thee in Christ Jesus thorow the Gospell; and there thou hast spirituall Brethren and Sisters and Mothers. Mat. 13. 50. O there is many a sweet, loving, humble, heavenly soule in that Land, in whose bosome Christ breathes by his blessed Spirit every day, and such as I hope wee shall ever love at the remotest distance, were it from one end of the Earth unto the other. Why, they are bone of our bone, and flesh of our flesh in Christ, nearer by farre then our friends, and kindred, oh let their sorrowes be our sorrowes, and their miseries ours.

4. Besides these relations, civill, naturall, spirituall, let us thinke upon the speciall tyes and engagements that many there have upon us. Among your friends there, whether naturall or spirituall, there are no doubt, some there, whom you prize above the rest. O if you could but see them, your soules would hardly stay within your bodies for running forth to meete them; At least, you would strive to incorporate your selves into them by the closest embraces.

embraces. Alas, these now, perhaps, are weeping in their secret places, these are now sitting with *Iob* among the ashes. If you could but see the expressions of their sorrowes, and heare their present speeches and complaints; and how they, their wives and little ones doe sit and lament together, it may bee some of them in expectation of daily death, and how they fast and pray, and afflict their soules, or how, peradventure, they wish themselves at this very instant with us; O you would weepe and cry, and melt away into teares of sorrow.

5. To this adde the Consideration of the many mercies, heapes of rich and precious mercies, twenty, yea thirty and forty yeares mercies, and to some more, which wee have there received; especially soule-mercies. There the light of the glorious Gospell of Christ Jesus first shined forth unto thee; there first thou heardst his pleasant voyce, there did his good Spirit first breath upon thine heart; there didst thou first beleeve and repent, and amend thy lewd wayes. And never was there a Land, I think, since Christ and his Apostles left the World, so richly blest in converts, or that ever brought forth such and so many worthies into the World. Yet there now (alas indeed, where sooner, when sinne aboundeth?) doth Judgement begin to reigne, as we may greatly feare?

6. Or is it not meete that we should bear a part with them in their sorrowes, who have borne a part with them in their sinnes? Have wee conferred so many sinnes as wee have done to speed on their confusion, and shall wee bestow no sorrow on them? Shall wee not helpe to quench the fire with our teares, that wee have kindled with our sinnes? O cruell! How know wee but that the Lord is at this instant visiting our transgressions there acted, which polluted

polluted the Land ? Beloved, did wee not commit there ten thousand millions of sinnes and more amongst us during our aboad there ? There, O there, wee played the ungodly Atheists, there it was wee halted betweene God and *Baal*, sware by the Lord and by *Malchom*, were neither hot nor cold ; there some of us blasphemed the dreadfull name of the ever blessed God, polluted his Sabbaths, despised his messengers, contemned his holy wayes, prophaned and abused his mercies, and his good creatures, ran with others to the same excesse of riot, &c. And how ever some may say, they have repented hereof, yet little doe they know what evill examples they have left there behind to fill up the measure both of sin and wrath. If thy sinnes committed there bee pardoned, yet thy sinnes may bee punished, like as a Father may be spared, and yet his children executed.

Thy sinnes, O man, have begotten many sins there ; there is many a formalist, and many a conformitant the more for thee, as indeed I feare there is for mee. Alas, how have they kept on sinning upon our examples ? Anothers drunkennesses have begotten many a drunkard there, as anothers spirituall cowardize many a Nicodemite, and anothers Lukewarmnesse many a *Laodicean*. Now, doe wee feare that the Lord is gone forth this day to call that Land to an account, and to visit for these and the like abominations, and is this nothing unto us ? Shall men be slaine for our sinnes, and we afford them no sorrow ? What ? Shall the old Prophet in *Bethel* rise up in judgement against us ? for when hee had slaine the man of God by his lying and dissembling to him hee yet mourned and lamented over him, saying, *Alas, my Brother*. Ah, my friends and brethren, let us doe the like ;

2 King 13,30

like ; our sinnes have slaine, perhaps by this time, a little Army of men, what can wee lesse then lament over them, saying, *Alas*, *Alas*, *our Brethren !* Surely, wee in this Land have great cause to doe as wee doe this day, if for no other respect, yet for this ; for wee have done enough and enough to overwhelme old *England* with the wrath of God ; that our hearts at this time could bee but overshadowed with a Cloud of sorrow !

Againe ; let us suppose that things were even now turned end for end, and that wee were this day in distresse, and those our brethren in peace ; I am confident, that they would condole with us, yea and powre out many a prayer for us ; for they did as much, I know, when this Land lay sometimes unto dearth, another time when the Indians rebelled, a third, when the moustrous opinions prevailed. And how have they alwayes listened after our welfare, ebbing and flowing in their affections with us ? How doe they (I meane all this while, multitudes of well affected persons there) talke of *New-England* with delight ! How much nearer Heaven doe some of their charities account this Land, then any other place they heare of in the world ? Such is their good opinion of us ! How have some among them desired to dye, if they might not be vouchsafed to live in this Land ? And when sometimes a *New-England* man returnes thither, how is hee lookt upon, lookt after, received, entertained, the ground hee walks upon beloved for his sake, and the house held the better where hee is ? how are his words listened to, laid up, and related frequently when hee is gone ? neither is any love or kindnesse held too much for such a man.

8. Neither let this be forgotten, that of all the Christian people this day in the World, wee in this Land enjoy the greatest

greatest measure of peace and tranquillity. Wee have beaten our swords into plough-shares and our speares into pruning hookes, when others have beaten their pruning hookes into speares, and their plough-shares into swords. And now, as *Moses* sayd to the Reubenites and the Gadites, *Shall your brethren goe to warre, and shall yee sit still?* So shall our brethren goe to warre, and we sit still, and not so much as grieve with them? shall they bee wounded with the sword and speare, and not we pierced so much as with brotherly sorrow? Surely then, if ever the Lord should bring the like houre of temptation upon us, as his people here have not beene long hitherto without exercise, he might justly shut us out of the hearts of all our brethren in the World. And whereas too perhaps here and there one in our native Land, especially in their passions, may have had some transient thoughts, touching, it may bee, some of us, as if the exorbitant spirit of *John* and *James* were in us, desirous that fire from Heaven should fall upon them, as if, I meane, we would be glad to heare of Judgements upon our native Countrey (O cruell, and unnaturall!) our fellow-feelings this day, I hope, shall wipe away all such prejudices. And truly, if Gods Justice might be satisfied with that Lands amendment without one drop of blood, though we should shed store both of teares and blood to effect it, wee would greatly rejoice, and soone turn this day of Humiliation into a day of gratulation, praise and thanksgiving. Num. 32, 6.

9. What shall I say? If there should be any one heart here digd out of a Marpesian rock, let such an one remember, lastly, that in the peace of that Land, we shall have peace, and therefore in the misery of that Land, wee shall never bee happy. You know, that Jer. 29, 7.

God hath hitherto made that Land a blessing unto this; If Christ hath a Vine here, that Land hath as yet beene the Elme that hath sustained it. Thence hath the Lord thus stockt this American part with such Worthies there were they bred and nurst, thence hitherto have beene our yearly supplies of men, and of many an usefull commodity. If then they suffer, we may easily smart; if they sinke, wee are not likely to rise. And this, at least, may be a perswasive to a sordide minde, that will not be wrought upon by more ingenious Arguments.

The mercifull God stir up all our affections, and give us that godly sympathy, which that Land deserveth at our hands, and teach us to expresse it upon all occasions of ill tydings coming to our eares from thence. Yea, let us sit at this time like old *Ely* upon the wayes side, watching, as he did, for the Arke of the Lord, with a trembling hand and heart. And let us bee every day confessing of our old *Englands* sinnes, of its high pride, Idolatry, superstition, blasphemies, blood, cruelties, Atheismes, &c. And let us never goe to our secrets without our Censors in our hands for old *England;* deare *England* still in diverse respects, left indeed by us in our persons, but never yet forsaken in our affections. The good God of Heaven have mercy upon it, and upon all his deare people and servants in it, for Christ his sake, *Amen.*

1 Sam. 4.

FINIS.

New-Englands Sence,

OF

OLD-ENGLAND

AND

JRELANDS

SORROWES.

A Sermon Preached upon a day of generall Humiliation in the Churches of NEW-ENGLAND.

In the behalfe of *Old-England* and *Irelands* Sad condition.

By WILLIAM HOOKE, Minister of GODS Word at *Taunton* in NEVV-ENGLAND.

Intrusted in the hands of a worthy Member of the Honourable House of Commons, who desired it might be Printed.

Imprimatur JOSEPH CARYL.

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NEW
ENGLANDS SENCE,
OF
OLD ENGLAND, AND IRELANDS SORROWES.

2 SAM: 10. 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12.

6 *And when the children of* Ammon *saw that they stank before* David, *the children of* Ammon *sent and hired the* Syrians *of* Beth-Rehob, *and the* Syrians *of* Zoba, *twenty thousand footmen, and of King* Maacha *a thousand men, and of* Ishtob *twelve thousand footmen.*

7 *And when* David *heard of it, he sent* Ioab, *and all the host of the mighty men.*

8 *And the Children of* Ammon *came out, and put the battle in array at the entring in of the gate: and the* Syrians *of* Zoba, *and of* Rehob, *and* Ishtob, *and* Maach, *were by themselves in the field.*

9 *When* Ioab *saw that the front of the battle was against him before and behind, he chose of all the choice men of* Israel, *and put them in array against the* Syrians.

10 *And the rest of the people he delivered into the hand of* Abishai *his brother, that he might put them in array against the children of* Ammon.

11 *And he said, If the* Syrians *be too strong for me, then thou shalt helpe me: but if the children of* Ammon *be too strong for thee, then I will come and helpe thee.*

12 *Bee of good courage, and let us play the men, for our people, and the Cities of our God; and the Lord doe that which seemeth him good.*

THe occasion of this warre was this. *Nahash* the King of *Ammon* (he who once demanded the right eyes of the *Gileadites*, and to lay it as a reproach upon all *Israel*, upon condition of covenanting with them) is now dead. He had been, it seemes, a friend to *David*, in opposition, probably, to *Saul* who was an enemy to them both. *David* looked at the expressions of his love, and left his heart to him that searched it, accounting it an office of humanity to comfort him concerning the death of his Father. His kindness is misconstrued by the Princes of the children of *Ammon*,

who detracting from the syncere intentions of upright *David*, hasten to their King and fill him full of jealousie and prejudice against *David*, as if he had not sent Embassadors, but Spies; not Conforters, but Traytors. The young King is overthrowne in the entrance of his government by evill Counsellors, whose suggestions he receives in stead of the comfort of *Davids* Embassadors, which cost him deare. His Counsellors were indeed his Traytors, not the Messengers. Alas, how fearefully is the King misguided in the threshold of his raigne, by such who should have better advised him? It is well said of a Byshop upon these words; *Happie is that State, where both the Counsellors are faithfull to give onely good advice, and the King wise to discerne good advice from evill.*

But what doth *Hanan* doe? He takes the servants of *David* and shaves off the one half of their beards, and cuts off their garments in the middle, and sends them away. The newes of it is brought to *David*, who sends to meet them; because they were greatly ashamed, and he said, Tarry at *Iericho* untill your beards be growne, and then returne.

And when the children of Ammon *saw that they stanke before* David, *they sent and hired the Syrians, &c.*

In the words, there is, first, A preparation for warr by the *Ammonites* against *David*. Secondly, *Davids* addressing himselfe for an encounter.

In *Ammons* preparations, there is, First, The ground of it, which was; *because they saw that they stanke before David*. Secondly, The hyring of *Auxiliaries* out of *Syria*, and that at a deare rate, *viz. For a thousand talents of silver*, 1 *Chron.* 19. 6.

In *Davids* addresse for encounter, we have, first, his send-

sending of *Ioab*, with all the host of the mighty men. Secondly, The subtiltie of the *Ammonites*, who were so wise as to devide their forces, and to leave the *Syrians* to fight in the open fields, whom they durst not trust at the entrance in of their Cities, while themselves put the battaile in array before the gates, that so also they might (if need were) have opportunity to retire. Thirdly, The wisdome of *Ioab* in ordering the battell the best way, in the strait he was in. Fourthly, a covenant of mutuall assistance between *Ioab* and *Abishai*, as need should require. Fiftly, *Ioabs* words of encouragement to *Abishai*, yea and to himselfe. *Be of good courage, & let us play the men, &c.* Which are the words that I have especially lookt at for the occasion of this day. But some things I shall briefly observe in the way to them.

1. First, for the ground of *Ammons* preparations; *They saw that they did stinke before* David, by reason of the abuse they had done to his Embassadors. Whence we may observe.

Observation.

That Indignities and inhumane carriages to Embassadors of Peace, is that which will make the Enemies of GOD to stinke in the nostrils of his People.

Doe not expect a parallel text for proofe, for such practices have bin very rare till of later yeres. There is no sinne but it stinkes in the nostrils of God, but as for men, it must be very grosse before it hath so ill a savour; and such are especially grosse sinnes against the second Table, as being committed against the greater light. Of this kind I remember for the present but one more in Scripture, and that was the bloody treachery of *Simeon* and *Levi* against the *Sechemites*, to whom therefore their Father *Iacob*

Iacob said, *Ye have made me to stinke among the inhabitants of the land*, Gen. 34. 30. For such dealings are against the light of blindest nature, especially such usage of Embassadors, whose name hath ever bin honourable by the law of Nations.

Vse.

1. First, This gives us to see one speciall cause why the Prelats in *England* doe this day stinke in the nostrils of Gods people, yea of many such as have but little Religion in them, there indignities and abuses offered to the Lords Embassadors have bin infinite and intollerable. Alas! what are the insolencies of *Hanun* here, to theirs? For first, He and his *Ammonites* never saw the tythe of that light that these have done. *Ammon* saw not the light of *Israel;* nor *Israel* the light of *England*. Secondly, those indignities done by *Hanun*, were farre inferiour unto these. For first, He onely cut the beards and garments of these Messengers, whose beards grew out againe at *Iericho*, and whose garments might be changed for longer; whereas these have pared the Eares of the servants of God, which can never grow againe; and stigmatized the Faces with indelible characters. And therefore, secondly, *Hanun* came not so neare to the persons of those Messengers, for hee medled onely with beards and garments, the cutting off of which shed no blood; whereas these have offered bloody indignities to the Lords Embassadors. Thirdly, those *Ammonitish* insolencies brought upon Messengers onely a civill inconformity in hayre and vestments to the manners of Gods Israel: whereas the practises of these men have forced a Spirituall conformity on Gods Ministers, to the manners of that great Strumpet and Mother of whoredomes. Fourthly, *Davids* messengers were abused onely

onely in Beards and Garments; but these have been Convented, Suspended, Deprived, Degraded, Excommunicated, Imprisoned, Impillored, Fined, stript of all, Exiled, and exposed to great extremities. Thus the indignities considered in themselves were farre inferiour unto these. Thirdly, *Hanun* never sinned herein against Conscience, as these have done; for he was misguided by his Princes, and so hee knew not that the Messengers were Spies: whereas the Prelats have offered horrible indignities to many such of whose integritie they have themselves first given ample testimony. Fourthly, *Hanun* did nothing obstinately, for his Nobles perswaded him; but with these, all the Noble men in the land could not prevaile with that *Arch Ammonite* and his followers, to deale favourably with the Lords Embassadors. Fiftly, If we looke upon the Messengers, *Hanuns* inhumanitie was offered to the messengers of a mortall Prince, but these men have most dreadfully abused the Embassadors of the Prince of the Kings of the Earth. For the Lord hath sent his Messengers to *England*, and one they have beaten, another they have killed, a third they have stoned; or that which is as bad. Againe, the Lord hath sent more Servants, and they have done to them likewise. Lastly, those were sent only to minister a little comfort to a man who (it seemes) had no great need of it; but these have been sent to publish the Gospell of everlasting Peace to the wearied.

O monsters among men that these Prelats are, trained up by Tygers, whom no incestuous ofspring of *Lot* can parallel by a thousand degrees! that if such Prodigies among men doe this day stinke in the nostrils, not of *Israelites* onely, but even *Ammonites* also, wee have great cause of thankfulnesse, none of wonder.

2. Secondly,

2. Secondly, This may shew us the sad estate of these noisome enemies of CHRIST and his Messengers; for seeing they are thus unsavory, what are they good for? What use can there be made of unsavory Salt? It is neither fit, saith Christ, *for the Land, nor for the Dung-hill.* It is good, saith he, for nothing, but to be cast out, and troden under foot of men, *Math.* 5. 13. An unsavory *Ammonite* may be good either for the land or for the dung hill. *Moab* was troden downe as straw for the dung-hill, *Isa.* 25. 10. But an unsavory Prelate is good for neither, as being unsavorie Salt. The most noisome Dung that is, is good enough for the dung-hill; but unsavory Salt is not, because it is so farre from making barren land fruitfull, that it makes fruitfull land barren. And such salt are the enemies of CHRISTS Embassadors, that where-ever a Prelate hath been cast, the place (though fruitfull before) hath soone proved barren in Religion round about him. For as they have no savour of life in themselves, they cannot endure either that Minister or People that have: Oh what will become of them now, whom the very dunghill doth reject? Who shall lament for them now, saying, Ah my brother: or, ah Lord; or, ah his glory, when they shall be cast forth beyond the gates of *Ierusalem?* As for other men, though never so vile, or degenerous, that are still good enough for the dunghill; men will find some mean imployment or other to put them to. If there be refuse people in a land, thou shalt have a drumme beaten up to call them together, that they may be sent forth in some service against the enemies of the land: whereas these want both ability and fidelity for such a service. Yea, should they come and crouch for a piece of silver, or a morsell of bread, saying, put us into the Priests Office, or

as

as it is rendered after the Original, put us into somewhat about the Priesthood, as much as to say, make Parish Clarks of us, that we may eat a peece of bread; they are not fit for it, for they cannot say, *Amen*, to the prayers of Gods people this day. They are not fit to occupy any roome in *Church* or *Commonwealth;* they are not fit for Pulpit, or Presse, for Church-government, Counsell-Table, Parliament, Iusticeship, Traffique, who have thus long traded onely for the mother of Whoredome, and who begin now to weepe and mourne, *because no man buyeth their Marchandise any more*, *Revel.* 18. 11. They are not then good for warre, nor peace: for Prince, nor people; for Church nor State: onely being wiser in their Generation, then the Children of light, like that wicked Steward they have robbed and spoiled, and feathered their nests, before they were turned out of their Stewardships, as being conscious to themselves, that digge I cannot, and to begg they are ashamed.

3. Thirdly, This should make us this day more earnest with God for *England*, that he would purge the Land of this filth; for otherwise how noysome will that Countrey be wherein there are so many unsavory creatures. Not that we desire any other purging of them, then their deposing and repentance for their horrible indignities, and inhumanities to the Embassadours of the King of Kings. And thus much for the grounds of *Ammons* Preparations to muster up Forces against *David*, because they saw, *that they stanke before him.*

Secondly, we have their hiring of *Auxiliaries* to defend them in their wickednesse: *They sent and hyred the Syrians of* Beth-Rehob, *and the Syrians of* Zoba, *&c.*

Obser-

Observation.

When wicked men are come to that height of sinne, that they stinck in the nostrils of Gods people, they will rather dye, then confesse and repent of their wickednesse.

We have the like example in the *Benjamites* against the eleven Tribes. And it is made good this day in the Prelates against *England*. For wheras they should have put sackcloth on their loines, and ropes upon their necks, and gone to the King and Parliament, saying; *Your servants say, we pray you let us live;* they have stood out rebelliously, and protested against Parliamentary proceedings. Nay, their monies have gone most profusely for the hiring of *Syrians*, and the maintenance of warres against the *Scots*, calling it, *Bellum Episcopale; The Bishops warre.* It was 1000. talents of silver that the *Ammonites* expended to hire helpe against the *Israel* of God, when first they had offred them such a monstrous indignity: But how many thousand talents these have disbursed and collected among themselves, and their Clergy, and Popishly affected partie, it is not easie for to say. For, *The Angell of the Lord hath poured out his viall upon their Sun, and they have been scorched with great heat, and have blasphemed the name of the Lord which hath power over these Plagues; and they have not repented to give him glory*, Rev. 16. 8. 9.

But whom now doe the *Ammonites* hire? but a sort of flagitious *Pagans*, that neither looked into the price of other mens blood, their own soules, or the justnesse of the cause? A thousand talents have soone bought them to fight the battels of the Devill against the Lord of Hosts.

Observation.

There is no cause so wicked or deplored, but money will hire

hire some mercinarily minded to abet, who wil damne their soules for a little silver. And how many such there have been even in the Christian world, the Prelates better know then wee. What forlorne creatures, *Papists*, *Atheists*, *Neuters*, and *mongrell Protestants*, had they procured to fight against the *Scottish* Nation? When wicked men are conscious to the insufficiency of their cause, they muster up the greater forces, and place their affiance in the arme of flesh; that what innocence here could not doe, three and thirty thousand *Pagans* joyned to the forces of *Ammon* shall. But thus much shall suffice to be spoken of *Ammons* Preparations, both their ground and helps.

2. Secondly, in *Davids* providing to encounter them, we have, First, his sending of *Ioab*, with all the Host of the mighty men. *David*, you see, is sencible of the horrible abuses done to his Embassadors.

Observation.

Indignities offered to Embassadors, redound to their King, who cannot be insensible thereof, especially, they being Embassadours of Peace.

And thus it is with God; as it is written, *The Lord God of their Fathers sent to them by his messengers, rising up betimes, and sending, because he had compassion on his people, and on his dwelling place: but they mocked the Messengers of God, and despised his words, and misused his Prophets, untill the wrath of the Lord arose, and there was no remedy. Therefore he brought upon them the King of the* Caldees, *who slew the young men with the sword in the house of their Sanctuary, and had no compassion upon young men or maiden, old man, or him that stooped for age; he gave them all into his hand.* 2 Chro. 36. 15, 16, 17. And now under the Gospell; *When the Lord of the*

Vineyard sends his servants to the Husbandmen, and the Husbandmen beat one, and kill another, and stone a third; and when hee sends yet more servants, and they doe unto them likewise; surely he will miserably destroy those wicked men, and will let out his Vineyard to other Husbandmen, which shall render him the fruits in their season, Matth. 21. 33.

Beloved! CHRIST is this day sensible of all the abuses that have been offered by the Prelats to his Messengers. How often hath he cryed from heaven, if that poore soule had not been utterly deafe, *Laud, Laud, why persecutest thou me? It is hard for thee to kicke against the pricks.*

Oh! CHRIST in his Messengers hath given his back to the smiters, and his cheeks to them that have plucked off the haire; his beard hath beene cut, and his garments currold by these Prelaripue *Ammonites*. The Messengers of *Iesus* have bin made a spectacle to the world, Angels, and men; they have beene made partakers of Christs sufferings, and have filled up that which is behind of the afflictions of Christ in their flesh, for his bodies sake which is the Church. And is Christ sensible, and shall not these *Ammonites* heare of it? Yes; for he is now awaking as out of sleep, and like a mighty man that shouteth by reason of Wine; Ah! saith hee, *I will ease me of mine adversaries, and avenge mee of mine enemies, and put them to perpetuall shame*. But so much be said of this.

Ioab now approaching with his Forces; when loe, the Adversaries have cunningly devided themselves, some standing at the entrance of the gates of the Citie, the residue in the open field. *Ioab* a wise Generall, and prepared for difficulties, forecasteth the best way of encounter, and fitting himself to assault the *Syrians*, leaves the *Ammonites*

monites to his brother *Abishai*, but with this covenant of mutuall assistance. (for I must now put sundry things together,) *If the Syrians be too strong for me, then thou shalt help me, but if the Children of Ammon be too strong for thee, then will I come and help thee.*

Observation.

When Gods *Israel* hath to doe with many potent, subtill, most wicked and desperate enemies, they had need to enter into a covenant of mutuall helpe and assistance.

Abraham was confederate with *Mamre*, *Eschol*, and *Aner*, when hee was to encounter with the foure Kings that had carryed away his cousen *Lot*, prizoner, *Gen.* 14. 13. 24. Yea, it is lawfull for us herein to learne wit of an enemy; For thus the enemies of *Israel* confederate themselves. *Come*, say they, *let us cut them off from being a Nation, that the name of Israel may bee no more in remembrance.* Yea, they have consulted together with one consent, and are confederate against *Israel;* the Tabernacles of *Edom*, and the *Ishmaelites*, of *Moab*, and the *Hagarens*, *Gebal*, and *Ammon*, and *Amalech*, the *Philistims*, with the inhabitants of *Tyre: Assur* also is joyned with them, they have holpen the children of *Lot*, *Psal.* 83. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9. And in the daies of *Ahaz* it was told the house of *David*, saying, *Syria is confederate with Ephraim*, *Isa.* 7. 2.

And this covenanting in case of opposing many, powerfull, cunning, wicked, desperate Enemies, is very requisite; *Seeing a Kingdome divided cannot stand*, which firmely united by confederacie is not easily vanquished, when every mans interesses are anothers, and the same ingagements common unto all. And this *Antichrist* knowes well enough; for hee being set forth most lively under the Type

Type of *Antiochus Epiphanes* in the 11th of *Daniel*, his heart is said to be *against the holy Covenant*, *vers.* 28. by and by hee is said to have intelligence with them *that forsake the holy Covenant;* yea, and to have *indignation against the holy Covenant*, *vers.* 30.' And such as doe wickedly, against the Covenant, He is said *to corrupt by flatteries*, *vers.* 32. Marke these expressions. His heart is against the *holy Covenant*. His very heart riseth at the name of *Covenant*, and *Covenanting*, and *Covenanters*, and those are the most odious people with him in all the world. Yea, he hath indignation against the *holy Covenant*. Hee could teare it in his teeth; the very gall of bitternesse riseth in him at it. And with whom hath he intelligence, but with them that forsake it? They are his Counsellours, that either fall off from the Covenant, or are learned to declaime and raile against it. And such as doe wickedly against the *Covenant*, he corrupteth by flatteries. If there be any who are more malicious then others against the *Covenant*, and the *Covenanters*, who will goe about to breake the League, to raise Armes, to hatch Treasons, to confound Kingdomes, Commonwealths and Parliaments, and to bring all things into combustion, that he may fish in troubled waters. O these are his white boyes these he smooths and stroakes, and flatters, these shall have Prebendaries, Bishopricks, Cardinals Caps, and great preferments, &c. And no marvaile, for these *Covenanters* are the ruine of *Antichrist:* for he could never have beene, if the *Covenant* had beene kept, his *Babel* can never be built where men keep close to God and one another.

Vse.

1. First, this sheweth us the wonderfull goodnesse of God in foure particulars, which should melt our hearts this day.

First

First, in uniting the Honourable Nation of the *Scots* by Covenant against the Prelates, in their late defence against their Tyranny. Which how powerfull and successefull it was, we may easily see, not onely by the carriage and issue of things on their parts, but also by the continuall attempts of the Prelates to have devided them.

Secondly, In the firme brotherly Union of *England* and *Scotland*, as it were of *Joab* and *Abishai;* and that too, by such an occasion, as the Prelates hoped should have engaged them in blood, the one against the other, like *Manasseh* against *Ephraim*, or as if *Ioab* and *Abishai* should cut one anothers throats.

Thirdly, In uniting both houses of Parliament, they having to do with such *Ammonites* and *Syrians*. It is such a knot, that the very Sword of *Alexander*, we hope, shall not easily cut asunder.

A Kingdome united into one body, will endure a mighty shock. Men standing single are soone justled downe, most difficult, when they are all imbodied into one.

Fourthly, In uniting the hearts of all the Churches in this Land to one another, and all of them this day to our deare Countrey, in opposing the common Adversary. For what hath *England* said to us of late? *If the Papists, Prelates, and Atheists be too strong for us, then you shall help us;* and *if at any time the enemy be too strong for you, wee will help you.* O let us all enter into Covenant with *England*, to live and dye against these *Ammonites* and *Syrians*.

2. Secondly, If so necessary bee a Covenant of mutual assistance against a common Enemy, such a one as we heare of; how much more had the *Israel* of God, need to enter into Covenant with the Lord of Hosts, in opposing

such an Adversary. What is a Politicke to a Religious Covenant? When the *Israelites* fled, and fell before the men of *Ai;* the Lord gives the reason of it unto *Ioshua*, *Iosh.* 7. 11. *Israel hath sinned, and they have transgressed my Covenant which I commanded them; for they have taken of the accursed thing, &c.* Where by the way, you may see how neerely this Covenant uniteth, that what one doth, (which the rest might with circumspection have prevented) is imputed to them all. The Lord will never have need to say to *England*, or to us, If the Malignant party with their Cavaliers be too strong for mee, then shall you help me; but we shall have need so to say to him; and therefore wee had need see that we be in covenant with him.

And where a people are in Covenant with God, and cleave onely to him, having cast away whatsoever is displeasing to him, hee enters himselfe presently the Generall of all their forces, leades their Armies, and fights their Battails. And then who can bee against us? For one shall chase a thousand, and ten, ten thousand; because their Rock will not fell them, nor the Lord shut them up. And so much for the Covenant of mutuall assistance.

We are now come to *Ioabs* words of Encouragement: wherein we have; First, an Exhortation. Secondly, a Resignation. An exhortation to be Valiant in fighting the Lords Battels; and a Resignation of their wills into the Lords hands.

First, of the Exhortation. *Be of good courage, and let us play the men for our people, & for the Cities of our God.* And here we may observe the grounds of their encouragement, *viz.* They were to fight for all that they had, or were; God, and their Country; Church, and State; soules and bodies; their owne, and others. *Obser-*

Observation.

When Religion and Policie, Church and Commonwealth lye at stake, Gods people had need to encourage themselves, and one another.

Therefore we shall finde, that when the people of God were to go to battell against his enemies, both the Lords, the Priests, and the Officers, did (*All*) give them encouragement, *Deut.* 20. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9. The place is pregnant to this purpose, and worthy our reading. Excellent are the words of *Nehemiah* to this point, *Neh.* 4. 14. He said to the Nobles and Rulers, and the rest of the people, *Bee not afraid of your Enemies;* remember the Lord which is great and terrible, and fight for your Brethren, your Sonnes, and your Daughters, your Wives and your Houses. They were to fight for the Lord, whose cause was then in hand; and for the Common-wealth, and each mans private interesses: therefore saith he, *Be not afraid of your Enemies.*

Vse.

1. First, this sheweth us, how direct a way it hath pleased the Lord herein to guide both Houses of Parliament to walke in, *viz.* A way of undaunted courage and resolution, as if they should say to one another, as once those *Trojans*, The onely way to safety to the Conquered, is to turne desperate. Some may thinke they transgresse their limits; No, for how can they take lesse courage to themselves, who being beset behind and before with *Syrians* and *Ammonites*, are to bestirre themselves for their people, and the Cities of their God. God and *England*, and every Shire and Citie in *England*, doe this day cry out unto them, saying; *Bee strong and of a good courage, be not afraid, neither be dismayed; for the Lord your God is with*

with you whithersoever you goe. Therefore let us not onely have high thoughts of them, and such as are alwayes Honourable, but magnifie the Lord who hath put such resolutions into them.

2. Secondly, let these words of *Joab* sound in our eares this day. *Be of good courage, and let us play the men for our people, and for the Cities of our God.* Beloved! I cannot but look upon the Churches in this Land this day, as upon so many severall Regiments, or bands of Souldiers lying in ambush here under the fearn and brushet of the Wildernes, like the lyers in wait beside *Gibeah*, against the wretched rebellious *Benjamites.* I know wee are little dreamt of at this time in any part of Christendome, our weapons being as invisible to the eye of flesh, as our persons are to all the world. So much the better; we shall fight this day with the greater safety to our selves, and danger to our enemies; among whom, I am confident in the Lord, thousands shall fall, and never know who hurt them. We arrogate nothing to our selves; for if the weapons of our warfare are mighty, it is not through us, but through God. But if the *Israel* of God would have thought of a way of quickest discomfiture to the adversary, what course could they have taken better, then to have divided their Forces, and to have sent some to lye in wait in the wildernesse, to come upon the backs of Gods Enemies with deadly Fastings and Prayer, murtherers that will kill point blanke from one end of the world to the other. Here then is our station, therefore *be we of good courage, and let us play the men at this time;* and first, For our God. For he is ours, Beloved, and we trust he is *Englands:* and shall we see our selves bereft of him? Can the *Israel* of God endure to see Idols and Idolothites

to

to stand in his place, and *Dagon* to bee exalted above the *Arke?* If *Israel* be robbed of their God, what have they more? What are the people, or Cities, if they bee not the people and Cities of our God? They are even like the world without the Sun. God therefore and Religion lie at stake: and therefore *let us play the men.*

1. First, God's worship lyeth engaged: all the pure and unmixt Ordinances of CHRIST JESUS call for helpe this day. The Word of God lifteth up its voice this day unto us, like a banished Virgin; O how have I been abused by the corrupt Glosses of these moderne *Pharisees?* How have the Scriptures beene wrested? The Word prophaned in Pulpits? Christ fought against, with the word of his owne mouth? Doctrines of Devils maintained with pretence of Scripture? The Messengers of Christ persecuted and hunted like Partriges upon the Mountaines; for holding forth the Word in his native lustre? O deliver the Word of God out of this Captivity! The Scales of righteousnesse cry alowd to us this day; They crave reduction to the rules of the Gospell. Every Ordinance pleads for vindication, travelling in paine under the captivity of beggarly Rudiments. O, say they, we have been dealt forth these many scores of yeares under Gospell-light, in such fulsome formes, that men abhorre *the offerings of the Lord.* Oh! The Whoore hath quaffed, and made herselfe drunke with her Pandors, and Paramours, and with her cunning and uncleane Merchants, *in the vessell of the Lords Sanctuary.*

Beloved! Let us hold; and heare no more of these sad complaints; for who can have pitie, and patience too? Have we the blood of Protestants in us? Doth the spirit of JESUS runne in our veines? It is enough: We cannot want

want *courage*, nor but *play the men* for God and pure Religion. And if any people under the Sunne, who more then we, whom the gracious hand of heaven hath asserted from that spirituall bondage, under which we once did groane? It is a truth, we saw but litle in comparison of what now we doe, when we left our Native homes; as much it is not that yet we see, tho, blessed be the Lord for what we doe. But is there any people in the world who have tasted more of the sweet of God, and Christ, and Ordinances, then we in this Land have done? Doe any know the price of God and Christ, more than wee here? I beseech you in the Lord, Consider, and let the spirit of Christ rise in you at this instant, and wrestle and strive this day in Prayer; let us loose a joynt with *Iacob*, but we will be *Israelites* this day. Let us play the men according to the knowledge, sence and experience that we have of God and Christ. Let us halt to our dying day, but we will returne, laden with the spoile of Rebels.

2. Secondly, as Gods worship lieth ingaged, so by consequence his Name; And what saith *Ioshua* to God upon the day of afflicting his soul? *What shall be done to thy great Name?* When the Ministers of the Lord were to weep between the Porch and the Altar upon the day of their fasting, they were to say, *Spare thy people, O Lord, and give not thine heritage to reproach, that the heathen should rule over them;* wherefore should they say among the people, *Where is their God?* Then will the Lord be jealous for his Land, and pitty his people, as it followeth. And shall not this argument then move us, which ever prevailed with the Lord? *Moses*, *Joshua*, the Priests, no sooner urge Gods glory, but the Lord answereth them.

Oh! how then hath Gods honour been layd in the dust by

by those Prelates, who now with their honours begin to lye there themselves? What insultings have they used? What triumphes have they often led? And as if they had bound our Christ like *Sampson*, and put him to grind in the Prison house (as in some sence they have.) Oh! how have these Lords of the *Philistims* gathered themselves together to offer sacrifice to their *Dagon*, to burne Incense to their Drag, to their power, their Policies, Prelacies, Confederacies, Conjurations, Superstitions, and so rejoyce? Saying, *Our God hath delivered Christ our enemy into our hand*, the destroyer of our Prelacies, who slew many of us.

And thus, could they but get the day again, they would say, and *Dagon* should up as high, and CHRIST be throwne downe as low, as ever. And can we endure so much as the thought of it? The Lord forbid. *O let us play the men* for our God, and our Christ, whose glory is more worth then ten thousand worlds of soules. O let us set to it this day with all our *courage;* let every veine, and joynt, and limbe, and affection in us, pray this day; *O Lord God, remember thine honour, wee pray thee, and strengthen us, we pray thee, that we may once be avenged on these Philistims against their Lords; for our two eyes.* Yea, as *Sampson* said, *Let me dye with the Philistims:* So, let us dye with these *Philistims*, if need were. Let us kill our selves with fasting and prayer, to destroy them, and to pull downe the Temple of their *Dagon*, all the fabrick of the *Hyrarchie*, upon the heads of these superstious Prelates.

3. Thirdly, Let us consider how inglorious a Nation is without God. *When the Arke was captivated, the glory was departed from Israel.* The Ark was the testimony of Gods presence; so that when God doth not testifie his presence

presence with a People, *they are without glory.* If the World bee beautified by the presence of the Sun, and so great glory attend the Court where the King is resident: How doth the special presence of the Prince of the Kings of the earth, beautifie that Land where it is? Yea, there is not onely a spirituall glory, visible onely to a spirituall eye, resulting from the speciall presence of the Lord among a people; but also an externall, and visible glory. When *Iehoshaphat* walked in the first waies of his Father *David*, and lift up his heart in the waies of the Lord; and that a great Reformation was wrought in the Land, and that he had spread the Word all over his kingdome; it is said, *That hee had riches and honour in aboundance;* and *The feare of the Lord fell upon all Kingdoms of the Lands that were round about Iudah, so that they made no warre against* Iehoshaphat. Yea, the *Philistims* and *Arabians* brought him great presents, insomuch that *Iehoshaphat* waxed great exceedingly, and hee built in *Iudah*, Castles, and Cities of store; and hee had much businesse in the Cities of *Iudah*; and the men of Warre, mighty men of valour, were in *Ierusalem*. So that *Iudah* had aboundance of externall glory, even the glory of riches, and honour, and power, and greatnesse, and peace, and homage from forreigne States, and of great emploiments, and of mighty men of valour. Wherefore, seeing God is come neerer to *England*, then formerly, and hath of late made such gracious tenders of himselfe, and hath found better acceptance then formerly; O let us conclude in dayly prayer, and this day especially, for his presence to be continued, and more cleerely manifested then ever. For if he should now withdraw againe, wee are to expect no glory to rest among them. You know how little honour hath been visible in that

that Land of late yeares; It hath for a long time beene a Land of sorrow, of mourning, and not of joy and rejoyceing. It hath not been called *Naomi*, but *Marah;* it hath not been a Crowne of glory, nor a Royall Diadem in the hand of the Lord; but been termed forsaken and desolate. But now the day hath begunne to dawne, yea, the Sunne seemes to be risen on it, if it strike not in againe, and a Tempest ensue upon it; which the Lord forbid. O why should we give the Lord any rest, till it be called *Hephzibah*, and *Beulah*, *My delight is in her, because she is marryed to the Lord.* For when once a Land is joyned to the Lord, hee is married to it, and then his delight is in it, and hee will cloath it with honour and glory. And thus much for the first ground of the Exhortation.

2. Secondly, the other is the State and Commonwealth, which lye ingaged; our people, and our Cities. Even Politick Priviledges are of weighty consequence, and moment. But in what a way, both people and Cities in that Land, have beene dealt with for many yeares past, we need say nothing, when it is clearely represented to the view of the whole world in the late Remonstrance of the state of that Kingdome. When men judge unjustly, and accept the persons of the wicked, and rid not the poore and needy out of the hand of the wicked, nor do justice to the afflicted; when they will not know, nor understand, but walke on in darkenesse; what followeth? *All the Foundations of the Land are out of course, Psal.* 82. 5. The Heavens, Sea, and dry Land have been shaken, and there hath been both a Church-quake, and a State-quake in that Land, which hath removed Foundations, and swallowed up both people and Cities. For when Foundations are not onely shaken, but out of course, and removed,

what have people, and Cities to stand upon? There is no man in such a case, who can say, I stand upon sure ground, I feare no colours, I am able to beare out my just actions. For if they should say, we will have recourse to our Foundations; alas, they are out of Course, they are removed, and none knowes where to find them.

Beloved! It is a fearefull thing to have but the foundation of an house undermined, the corner stones removed, and the pillars pulled downe; but when whole Cities, and Townes, and Shires of people, shall be undermined, and neere blown up, oh how dreadfull is it? When a People who can say, *We are Romans, neither did we buy our freedom, but are the lawfull and legitimate heires of Liberty, shall be scourged uncondemned;* and when Cities that were formerly Cities of Refuge, where the afflicted might find succour under municipall Laws, shall be invaded by destroyers; what cause have men to doe as *David* and his followers, when they had recourse to *Ziklag*, thinking to have found shelter there; but loe, the Citie was burnt, and their wives, and sons, and daughters taken Captives? *Even lift up their voices and weepe, untill they have no more power to weepe.* When a man may say as *David; In the way wherein I walked, they privily laid a snare for me: I looked on my right hand, and behold, there was no man would know mee, refuge failed me:* this is miserable. For a man thinkes himselfe safe in his way, and if he be in the Kings high way, he thinks much to have a snare laid for him; and none but Cutters will way-lay a man there. For *Edom* to assault *Israel*, when they promised to walke on, only *in the Kings highway; O barbarous and inhumane! Numb.* 20, 17, 20. But when a man shall be assaulted in such a case, and he looks on his right hand, and

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on his left for helpe, and can see none, then his purse, if not his throat is indangered. Surely it is uncomfortable travelling in such Countries.

Brethren! Liberty is more precious then life, inasmuch as death is the common lot of all men, but servitude the portion only of men destined to misery. And if a people be sold for bondmen, and bondwomen, what can countervaile the Kings damage? And seldome is it, that cruelty rests satisfied with bondage, but makes his progressions to further degrees of blood. When people and Cities cannot say *Municipia*, but *Mancipia*, what remains but death; as when the *Ephramites* could not pronounce *Shibboleth*, but onely *Sibboleth*, presently they dyed for it. If goods and liberty be in the power of mens wills, why not also life? There is much comprized in people and Cities, even all that is Politick, Oeconomick, or Private; but I instance onely in the greatest mischiefe. Let us therefore use the words of Queene *Hester* vnto *Ahasuerus*, and direct them unto God. *If we have found favour in thy sight, O Lord, and if it please the King, let our lives be given us at our petition, and our people at our request; for our people are sold to bee destroyed, and slaine, and perish.*

If any say, How are we concerned in the miseries of other men, so long as we are free. I say, it toucheth us, as *Lots* captivity touched *Abraham*, who mustred up his men, and took his confederats along with him, *Mamre*, *Eshcol*, and *Aner*, and delivered him out of bondage. And if we forbeare to deliver them that are drawne unto death, and those that are ready to be slaine; if we say, *we knew it not*, or *what did it concerne us? He that pondereth the heart considereth it, and hee will render unto us according to our workes. Prov.* 24. 11. 12. Wherefore *Let us play the*

the men for our people and Cities. What though it be well with us? *Let us yet remember the afflictions of* Joseph; yea, and the words of *Ioseph* to *Pharaoh's* Butler; *Thinke upon me when it shall be well with thee; and shew kindnesse, I pray thee, unto me, and make mention of mee unto Pharaoh, and bring me out of this house.* For thus in effect speaks *England* and *Ireland* to us this day, and all the Cities in them; now that it is well with you, think upon us, and shew kindnesse unto us, and make mention of us unto the God of heaven, that we may fully once be delivered out of the house of bondage. Oh, saith such and such a Citie, there are so many thousand soules in me, who cannot discerne between the right hand and the left.

But if it be not well with them, how can it bee well with us? If the *Arke*, and *Israel*, and *Iudah*, abide in tents, and the people of God are encamped in the open fields, what comfort can we have in our houses, food, or wives? What though we are so farre from them in place?

The needle in the Compasse is never quiet till it pointeth to the North, at a thousand times greater distance. Affections touched with grace, stand firme from one end of the World to the other. *Nehemiah's* heart stood right towards *Jerusalem*, when he was in *Persia;* and though hee was not in an humbling Wildernesse, but an alluring Pallace, even in *Shushan*, yet *Jerusalem* came into his minde. For when *Hanani*, and certaine men of *Iudah* came thither to him, he asked them concerning his brethren that were left of the Captivity, and concerning *Ierusalem.* And when they told him of the great affliction and reproach, he sate downe and wept, and mourned many daies, *and fasted and prayed before the God of Heaven,*

Neh.

Neh. 1. 1, 2, 3, &c. Wherefore let that Word of the Lord sound often in our eares; *Ye that have escaped the Sword, go away, stand not still; remember the Lord a farre off, and let* Ierusalem *come into your minds*, *Ier.* 50. 51. And though we have but a day, or two, wherein to joyne all our Forces in the Land together, and to give the Adversaries a broad side; Yet let us now and then make excursions by our selves in private, now that the Lord cals for help against the Mighty. Are we not all the Voluntaries of IESUS, whose People shall be willing in the day of his power? neither is there any restraint unto the Lord, to save by many, or by few; by whole Churches, or by single persons. Let us therefore be often adventuring by our selves, like *Ionathan* and his Armour-bearer against the *Philistims*. If ever we afflicted our soules, let it be in these daies; for we may partly understand by Bookes the number of the yeares which God will accomplish in the desolations of *Ierusalem*. So that, we set our faces unto the Lord God, to seek by Prayer and Supplications, with Fasting, Sack cloth, and Ashes. There is at this time a great battell between *Michael* and the *Dragon*, and the *Angels*. The Beast and the Kings of the earth, and their Armies have gathered themselves together to make warre with the Lambe. All the Principalities, and Powers, and Rulers of the Darknesse of the World, and Spirituall wickednesses in High places, are up in Armes this day, and there is scarce a Devill left behind in Hell. If ever therefore, now *Let us quit our selves like men;* the weapons of our Warre-fare are not Carnall, but mighty through God. Let us pray against them, as *Moses* against *Amalek;* and Preach against them, as the Priests under the Law, when the Host went out against the Enemy;

and sing against them, as *Iehosophat* and the men of *Iudah* did against *Moab*, *Ammon*, and *Edom*; and live against them, as it is written, *When the Host goeth forth against the Enemy, then keepe thee from every wicked thing. Deut.* 23. 9. Every Ordinance of God is a deadly murtherer. O let us walke and sleep in our Armour and never be unfurnished of promises touching the confusion of *Babel*, and her builders. Let the cause of God affect us deeply, and the people and Cities of our God be alwaies in our eyes. And let the desolations of Christendome awaken us to frequent Prayers, and constant sympathy; and the bloud of Gods people (particularly) in *Ireland*, be to us as the bloud of Grapes and Mulberies are to Elephants, to provoke them to fight. Oh those incarnate *Irish* Devils! let them be often in our sight. Their blasphemies, their burnings, their robberies, their rapes, their rostings, their strippings, rippings, hangings, drownings, dis-membrings, butcheries, the very shambles of the Devil erected in *Ireland*, would be alwaies in our eyes and eares. And yet when we have done all, let us referre the issue to the Almighty, saying; *Let the Lord do what seemeth him good.* The last thing, is their resigning up their wills into the hands of GOD; whereof a few words, and I end.

Ioab is not wanting in the use of all meanes to obtaine victory, yet lookes above them, and refers the issue to the Lord of Hosts; teaching us,

Doctrine.

To neglect no meanes of Victorie, yet to depend upon the Lord onely for a gracious issue.

For there is no trusting in our bows or swords, it is the Lord that saveth us from our enemies. It is not the race to the swift, for then *Ioab* knew that his brother *Asael* had not

not dyed by the hand of *Abner*. Neither is it the battel to the strong, for then he knew, that *Goliah* should never have fallen by the hand of *David*. *The Horse is prepared against the day of Battell, but victory is of the Lord.*

Vse.

1. First, Let this teach us to seeke the Lord, that none of his may ever rest upon the arme of flesh, nor number the people; as once *David* did. Hee had a Catalogue of all the mighty men, 2 *Sam.* 23. and now too, he will have a list of all the Souldiers in his Kingdome, 2 *Sam.* 24. He Idolized the carnall strength of *Israel*, and remembered not the Word of the Lord, which said, *When thou takest the summe of the children of Israel, after their number, then they shall give every man a ransome for his soule unto the Lord, that there bee no plague among them, when thou numbrest them. Exod.* 30. 12. Let us remember *England* in this particular; It lyeth under great temptations to this kind of Idolatry. The Union of the two Nations, two Houses, all (or most) of the Shires by Petitioning for Reformation, the setling of the Warrefare of the Kingdome at Sea and Land, the mervellous wisdome, and undaunted resolution of Parliament, their successe in many matters, the eyes of many on them, and the applause that is given them, besides whatsoever other temptations, and armes of flesh; may soone solicite the hearts, even of the godly, much more of others, to carnall confidence, that they may never lift up their eyes unto the hilles from whence commeth their helpe.

Sisera, *Midian*, *Goliah*, *Senacherib*, *Zerah*, fall by their carnall props; when *Barak*, *Gedeon*, *David*, *Jonathan*, and *Asa*, resting upon the Lord in the use of small meanes, returne victorious. Two dayes weeping and fasting

ing was little enough for the eleven Tribes to gaine the day of *Benjamin*. O let not Gods people rest in Councell, Number, Courage, Ammunition, but *in the Lord of Hosts*.

2. Secondly, Let not us then place any affiance in our Fasting daies, but refer al to God when we have ended them. If the Devill cannot make us convert our Prayers unto Idols; he will see whether hee cannot convert them into Idols.

Lastly, Let us lay our hearts this day in the Lords hands, as once *Eli* & *Hezekiah* being threatned, as here *Iaob* ready for the onset, did. The People of God, both in old *England* and new, have waited on his providence both by earthly and heavenly meanes. *Now let the Lord doe what seemeth him good.* If it shall seem good to him, that *England*, *Ireland*, or *Scotland*, shall suffer yet further, the will of the Lord be done. What remaineth, but for us to magnifie Gods justice, and to put our mouthes into the dust? Especially, (as for *England*) considering how long the Prelacie hath fought against Christ, and kept him out of his Kingdome: What bloody brazen-faced Idolatries have bin committed there? What Atheismes, Blasphemies, Adulteries, Prodigies of pride, grinding of faces, selling of the Poore, countenanced Sabbath breakers, derision of holinesse, shedding the blood of the Saints, have been common in that Land; and in a speciall manner, considering the sinnes of Gods deare people there, particularly of his Messengers in their long continued subjection unto the power of Antichrist, in the Prelacy, the warpings and shrinkings of some, the fearefulnes and cowardize of many (for which, for mine own particular, I desire to be humbled while I live) the reading of that abomi-

abominable Booke of cursed liberty, contributing to the Superstitious Pompousnesse of *Paules*, and to the raising of Forces against the *Scots*, (a dreadfull bloody sin) reading, or permitting to be read, Proclamations, and Prayers in the Churches against them. I say, considering all this (to mention no more) though we have used what meanes we can, and though they should doe the like, yet let our expectations of successe be low, let us humbly submit ourselves to the will of the Lord, saying; *Let him doe what seemeth him good.* If it seem good to him to pardon the Land, O blessed be such gentlenesse: If otherwise it seem good to him to correct it, blessed bee his justice. Whatsoever he doth, is good: therefore let him doe it. And any mercy at any time, is enough for great transgressors.

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FINIS.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER TWO.

Note A. Page 68.

The following is an exact copy of the letter from Hooke to Winthrop, referred to in the preceding chapter.

"Honored Sir,—I humbly salute you, together with Mrs. Winthrop, and your son and daughters, with the remembrance of my entire respects to you and yours. I received the letter which you sent aboard to me newly after my departure from Boston, it being no less a trouble to me than to yourself, that I was so hurried away that I could not see you once again, and solemnly take my leave of you, to whom I reckon myself very much engaged for your love and care of me and mine. The Lord was pleased to afford us a very comfortable and speedy passage from land to land in the space of five weeks, our sea exercises being no more than ordinary. After our landing we were all held with colds and coughs, and I am scarce free to this day. We found the Parliament sitting when we came, whose greatest work hath been, to raise the present government to that which is kingly, this of kingly being now voted by the far *major* part, though not the *melior*, as I understand, yet some godly persons joining therein. It is apprehended that settlement is not obtainable in the present way. The churches throughout the land that are congregational, and likewise particular godly persons, are mostly averse to this change, and sundry churches, from several counties, have petitioned to the Protector against it. In his first meeting with the Parliament, he desired time of consideration; in his second he expressed himself negatively; in his third he did not speak, as it is said, so perspicuously and expressly; in his fourth the Parliament delivered their reasons for this change; and now the fifth hasting, it is expected that

he should deliver his reasons for refusal, or accept what is tendered. I suppose his spirit inclineth to refusal, as the case is circumstanced; but he is put upon straights through the importunities of such as urge the necessity of this change, knowing also that the Parliament may, and perhaps will, disown him in the Spanish wars, and withdraw their help, and also in many other things relinquish or oppose him, and render the present arbitrary sword power odious and tyrannical, and when he shall die, choose a king, whose little finger may be very heavy upon the people of God; whereas now (if he accept of the present offer) he shall have the power of nominating his successor, etc. But on the other side a design is feared, the promoters being not men (for the most part) of a desirable gang, many of them not very good well willers, perhaps, to the better party; and the hand of the lawyers is chief in these things, to settle their forms (it is thought) no less than the state of the land. Likewise, former professions and protestations against kingly power are alleged and much insisted upon, as made sometimes by the army, godly men, and not of mean rank, utterly denying any such engagements or protestations. Some fear also lest things should revert to their first principles, in the issue, and our gains by all those bloody wars, lie at last in a narrow compass, etc.

"The Protector is urged utrinque and (I am ready to think) willing enough to betake himself to a private life, if it might be. He is a goodly man, much in prayer and good discourses, delighting in good men, and good ministers, self-denying, and ready to promote any good work for Christ.

"As touching myself, I am not as yet settled, the Protector having engaged me to him not long after my landing, who hitherto hath well provided for me. His desire is, that a church may be gathered in his family, to which purpose I have had speech with him several times; but though the thing be most desirable, yet I foresee great difficulties in sundry respects. I think to proceed as far as I may, by any rule of God, and am altogether unwilling that this motion should fall in his heart. But my own weakness is discouragement enough, were there nothing else.

"Your letters were delivered, Mr. Peter [Hugh Peters] undertaking for two of them. For Sir Kenelme Digby is in France, and when he will return I hear not. Mr. Peter is not yet thoroughly recovered out of his late eclipse; but I hear better of his preaching than was formerly spoken of it. He hath been loving to me, and hath (I hope) received benefit by the things which have lately befallen him. The steward of the house and I speak often of you. His name is Mr. Maydestone, who (as he saith) sucked the same milk with you. He is a godly wise man, and one to whom I am much bound for his love. The land is as full of wickedness as ever it was, excepting that there is a remnant professing the pure ways of God with more clearness, liberty, and boldness, than heretofore; and here are many good churches in city and country, far and near, and many able ministers.

"There have been two conspiracies discovered since my arrival—one of the levellers, many of whom were engaged by some great enemy to take away the life of the Protector, and scarce three or four of them known one to another, that if any of them should be discovered, they might not discover very many others, but the plot still go on in the hands of other men. One Sundercombe was a chief man in this design, a very stout man, who, with one Cecill, was apprehended, and he condemned to die, who, the night before the time appointed for his execution, poisoned himself. He was a very atheist, not holding the immortality of the soul. One of the life-guards had his hand also in the conspiracy, and had received a reward to act in it, who, fearing a discovery, to save his life detected Sundercombe, made known the business, and prevented the burning of Whitehall, when the match in the basket full of the most combustible and furious materials was lighted and placed in the midst of the chapel in a seat, etc. The other conspiracy was discovered the last week. It was carried on by tumultuous, outrageous, discontented men, pretending to fifth monarchy, but discovering in their declaration (which is in print) a bloody spirit, though under a specious shew. Some of them were late-

ly apprehended as they were praying, ready to set forward in a hostile manner, together in a body, having accordingly furnished themselves. In this design one Vernour, not long since dwelling in your Boston, a wine cooper, is a principal actor, who being brought before the Protector, spoke and behaved himself with as great impudence, insolence, pride, and railing, as (I think) you ever heard of. It is thought also that Major General Harrison, Colonel Rich, Carey, Danvers, Colonel Okey, Sir Henry Vane, are engaged in this plot. I suppose some of them are secured, or sent for so to be. We hang here upon ticklish points, and scarce know what to think, only the people of God are still looking up to him. Mr. Hopkins and Mr. Tenwick have gone to God, within two or three days one of the other, in a time wherein we have very great need of the presence and prayers of such men.

"Sir, I would not tire you: I have very great need of the help of your prayers; I am still also valetudinarious, and should rejoice to do God any acceptable service before my great change cometh. I have spoken again and again to Mr. Peter to remember your sister Lake; what he will do I know not; I pray remember my respects to her also, and to Mr. Blinman. The Father of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you and all yours, prospering your endeavors to his glory and the good of many. To his grace I heartily commend you, and rest.

"Yours very much bound to you,

"April 13, 1657. "WILLIAM HOOKE.

For the much honored Mr. John Winthrop,
at his house in Pequot, in New-England."

NOTE B. Page 73.

THE discourse, or rather treatise on the "Priviledge of the Saints on Earth," etc., is too long to be inserted entire in this work. It extends through one hundred and thirteen pages duodecimo, and is bound up with a briefer discourse on "the Gospel Day," registered as number 1259 in the Prince Col-

lection, and sacredly preserved in the archives of the old South Church, Boston. The book "belongs to the New-England Library, begun to be collected by Thomas Prince, upon his entering Harvard College, July 6, 1703, and was given by said Prince to remain therein forever." Through the kindness of Rev. Dr. Blagden, Pastor of the Old South Church, I have had access to the volume, and made liberal extracts from the same. The title page is as follows:

"The Priviledge of the Saints on Earth, beyond those in Heaven, in respect of gifts and graces exercised, duties and services performed, sufferings and tryals undergone by them, which the glorified are not capable of—

Being

The sum of a Discourse upon a part of Hezekiah's song of Thanksgiving after his recovery from his sickness.

To which is added, a short Discourse of the nature and extent of the Gospel Day, reaching from the destruction of the Old, to the erection of the New Jerusalem, out of Zech. 14: 6, 7:

By William Hooke,

Preacher of the Gospel.

London:

Printed for John Wilkins, and are to be sold at his shop in Exchange Alley, next door to the Exchange Coffee House, over against the Royal Exchange.

1673."

Mr. Prince is careful to inform the reader on the title page that "this author was ye Rev. Mr. Hooke, once of New-Haven in N. E.—see C. M. Magnalia."

The name of Anne Hoxevall is also on the title page, from which I infer some "mother in Israel" may once have claimed possession of a book which she, and after her, the Rev. Thomas Prince could appreciate, and which becomes to us one of the most precious relics of antiquity.

There is a prefatory notice of the book from some unknown hand, but which may have been none other than that of the excellent John Howe, an associate of the no less excellent Hooke

in the family of the Protector. What more natural than that one who could discourse so well concerning the "Blessedness of the Righteous" in the world to come, should commend to the attention of community the truthful remarks of his friend and brother in tribulation concerning the "Blessedness of the Righteous" in the world that now is. With Dr. Bacon, referring to the subject of the discourse only, which he had never read, we may well exclaim: "What sort of a man must he have been, who in his old age, disappointed, afflicted, persecuted, could write a book to show the privileges of the saints on earth beyond those in heaven—the privilege of laboring for the Redeemer, the privilege of bearing the cross, and enduring reproach and sorrow for Him."

"TO THE READER.

"The greatest and highest honour of the reasonable creature is to serve Him, who is the best good and last end. Herein do we communicate with angels, whose glory it is, that they are ministering spirits, always beholding the face of God our Father for this very purpose. How diligent then should we be to lay hold on, and to improve all opportunities of service, seeing our time is so short, our work so great, and our salvation nearer than when we first believed? The Son of God hath given us a glorious pattern herein, "I must work the work of Him that hath sent me," etc. Christ Jesus our Master improved all opportunities, went up and down doing good, filling all places where He came, with the savour of His doctrines and miracles, because He knew His time was short, and the recompense of reward at hand. The serious thoughts hereof would exceedingly spur us to a holy diligence, especially considering that Heaven is a place not of work but reward, where the saints will be divested of serving and honoring God in many of these ways, wherein now (through grace) they are enabled to bring much glory to His name. Many Graces, Duties, Gifts have here their place while we are *viatores*, but shall have no room when we come to be comprehensores. And this is the design of the

worthy author in this little tract, viz: to set before thee the great opportunities thou hast of service to God, while thou art on this side Heaven, beyond what are to be enjoyed there. Were this thoroughly weighed, how would Holiness be promoted, saints shine, families flourish, churches revive? We should not so passionately desire death, merely to be rid of all sufferings, but should prize life, if with it, Christ Jesus might be magnified. It is glorious work, that God calls His saints to ere they get to Heaven. Is not suffering for Christ glorious work? Is not the exercise of faith, hope, and patience glorious work? To do good, and to communicate, both to the bodily and spiritual necessities of saints and others, is not *this* glorious work? In a word, to propagate pure religion and undefiled to the generations to come, is not this glorious work? Why, herein are the Saints on Earth priviledged beyond those in Heaven, where there is no room for the exercise of these graces and duties. Oh! who would not pray that he might live to do God service —spin not out our precious time unprofitably. Pray that thou mayest be counted worthy of this calling (which is indeed a *high* calling) and fulfil all the good pleasure of His Goodness, and the work of faith, hope and patience, with power that the name of our Lord Jesus Christ may be glorified in you, and ye in Him according to the grace of our God and the Lord Jesus Christ."

It is but a brief synopsis which I undertake to give of the author's discourse from the following text: Isaiah 38: 18, 19, "For the grave cannot praise Thee, death cannot celebrate Thee. They that go down into the pit cannot hope for Thy truth. The living—the living, he shall praise Thee, as I do this day. The father to the children shall make known Thy truth."

These words indicate, the Preacher remarks, King Hezekiah's joy at recovering from a grievous sickness. And why does he rejoice?

1*st*. He has no son to succeed him.

2*d*. He seems to have been unwilling to dye in God's displeasure.

3*d*. He feared what might become of his reformation.

4*th*. He has regard to the nature of his disease, which appears to have been the pestilence.

In the text there is —

1*st*. A declaration of the state of the dead.

2*d*. An assertion of the opportunities enjoyed by the living.

The Doctrine to be derived from the text is this:

There are opportunities of service to be performed to God in *this* life, which are not to be enjoyed *after death*. Or thus:

The people of God may do that for Him in *this* world, which they *cannot* do in *Heaven*.

The enquiry arises:

What *are* those services to be performed *here*, which may not be rendered hereafter? (I will simply name what the Preacher pursues at considerable length.)

1*st*. *Praise* before the children of men in the land of the living.

2*d*. Fathers may make known *truth* to their children.

3*d*. A blameless, exemplary *life* before the wicked and thereby — 1*st*, *many* are converted. 2*d*. Others are left without excuse.

4*th*. Opportunity is furnished to reprove Sin, confute Error, instruct ignorance, warn the unruly, comfort the feeble minded, etc.

I remember, (remarks the Preacher,) how, when dying, Mr. Kollock was much offended with a kinsman, for desiring his *prayers* when he should come to *Heaven*.

God will have but ONE Intercessor THERE, *said* the dying man.

5*th*. Good may be done to the *bodies* of men.

6*th*. *Here* saints may *suffer* for Christ — for example, friends, goods, health, ease, credit, liberty, houses, lands, may be wrested from them, aye, they may suffer the loss of *all* things for Christ's sake.

7*th*. Notice some *gifts* of *grace*, which cannot be *exercised* in Heaven, as for example,

1*st*. *Faith*—there on the contrary is *Vision*.

2*d*. *Hope*—there is *fruition*.

3*d*. *Patience*—there you will have no occasion for it.

4*th*. *Love*—as for example towards enemies—*there* you shall *have* no enemies. Love toward the *unregenerate*—there are *none* such in Heaven. The love of sympathy toward the wretched and the miserable—none of *these* will you find in Heaven.

5*th*. Parts—*common* gifts, such as prophecies, tongues—these are not needed in Heaven.

The Question arises—*Why* Saints in Scripture desire to dye?

Answer—1*st*. Some have not done well in so desiring, as for example, *Moses*, of which you will have an account in Numbers 11: 15. *Job*, see Job 6: 8, 9. *Elijah*, 1 Kings, 19: 4. *Jonah*—Jonah, 4: 3.

2*d*. Others have done well, for they desired it with submission and a suitable spirit, as *Simeon*, Luke 2: 29—*Paul*, Phil. 1: 23, 24.

Another question: Is it not lawful in *any* case, to desire to dye?

Yes, the Preacher replies, with subjection to the Divine Will.

The application of the subject discussed is by far, the largest part of the Discourse, and so much extended is it that I can barely give a passage here and there.

If there are opportunities of service to be performed to God in this life, which are *not* to be enjoyed after death, and the saints may do that for God in this world, which they cannot do in Heaven, we are then

1*st*. *Informed*,

1*st*. That Heaven is the place of the saints *reward* and not of their *work*. When they dye, they cease from their labors, and their works do follow them.

2*d*. If our opportunities dye together with us, then we are *further* informed, that as there is no working in Heaven, so there is no returning after death to work again in this world. If a man die, shall he *live* again?

2*d*. Instructed in matter of *Reproof*,

1*st*. To such as live long, and do but little; whereas we may reckon our lives by the *good* we do in this world. For, as for *lost* time, it cannot come into the *account* of our lives; and it is a pitiful thing, to be OLD only in time—but alas! all the good of many, stricken in years, will be within a very little compass, and to be an ancient man or woman, of two or three years old, as we must reckon the lives of some according to *this* rule, sounds like a contradiction.

2*d*. What shall we say to such as have lived to no purpose at all? All that they have done is to eat, drink, and make a number.

3*d*. But (what is worse,) some have lived to *wicked* purposes, having spent their days in sin, and been offensive both to God and man who at last will come to dye like Jehoram without being *desired*. Everybody is *glad* to see them die. And such *another* was *Hezekiah's father*, even King *Ahaz*, who when he died was buried like Jehoram, and not brought into the sepulchres of the Kings of Israel. Oh, these are to be exploded out of the land of the living. For men shall clap their hands at them and *hiss* them out of the world; he never did good work while he lived, and he shall have never a good word when he dyeth. So much for *reprehension*.

3*d*. This point instructs us in matter of *Humiliation*.

What hath been said should humble even the very best of God's people, in that they have done no more service for Jesus Christ, in their generation. You have (possibly) done *something* for Him, but you *might* have done more, you might have praised Him more, declared the *truth more* to your children, you might have projected and designed more for the *glory* of God and the good of Posterity. You might have devised *liberal* things, and lived more exemplarily, been more zealous of good works, more edifying in your conversation. You might have adventured more for Christ. And whereas you have gained

two talents for Him you *might* have gained *five*. Truly for MY part, remarks the Preacher, *I* might have done more, and it humbleth me that I have done so *little*. I remember it is said of Dr. Usher, in the narrative of his life and death, that when he was a dying, he was *humbled* for his *omissions*.

3*d*. Be Exhorted. By our subject Exhortation is in place *several ways*.

1*st*. Be Exhorted to do all the good you are able, during your abode here below, seeing death will put an end to all your opportunities. Suppose you have done well hitherto, like a good and faithful servant, be not yet *weary* of well doing, but *up* and be doing *still*, and in due time you shall REAP if you *faint not*. What a deal of good had *Hezekiah* done, before he fell into this sickness? and yet you see he is *willing* to live *longer* to do MORE. So PETER had done much good in *his* time. At length he become *old*, and then he writes to the *saints*—"I think it meet, *as long as I am in this tabernacle*, to stir you up, by putting you in remembrance," etc. It is the saints happiness to have Glory and Honor and Immortality in *Heaven*, but it is much to the glory and honor of God for the saints to be immortalised on Earth, and to live in their *good examples*, good *counsels*, good *names* and good *works*, when their *souls* are *shining* in *Heaven*.

To be more Particular:

1*st*. Dilate and diffuse the praises of God, and make *His* name Glorious to the utmost of your power. And let THIS be sounding much in your ears—"the *living*—the LIVING, he shall *praise* thee."

2*d*. Endeavor also the propagation of Christ's Kingdom—*pray* for it, and according to your capacity, promote it.

3*d*. Live exemplarily, that your patterns may survive you and *live* when *you* are *dead*. Thus *Paul* lived. "Brethren" said he, "be *followers* together of *me*, and *mark* them which *walk* so, as ye have *us* for an *ensample*." The like did *Samuel*. *Examples* are very *prevalent* either *one* way or the other; either

for *good* or *evil*. And therefore so walk according to God, that *others* may follow you, seeing your example will live whilst *you* live, yea, when you are *dead* too. For it will be said, *such* a one lived thus, and walked thus, and *thus* he behaved himself in his family, and thus in his fellowship with the saints, and thus in his dealings with his neighbors, and with *all* men, and thus he carried it under his tryals and oppositions in an evil day, and this and that was the rule he walked by. For he was a *wise* man, or *she* was a wise *woman*, and very conscientious, and tenderhearted, and sincere, and active, and stirring, and zealous, for Jesus Christ, and fearful to give the least offense, and ready to every good work, and pitiful to the poor saints: his heart, and purse, and house were open for Jesus Christ, and he was a *just* and *peaceable* man and one that could govern his *spirit* and *tongue*, and that could keep down his *passions*, and one that was a *mortified person*—dead to the world and the things thereof, etc. Now what a *blessed* example is *this*, and what a *glorious* report, what an *edifying pattern*, and for the glory of God, and our Lord Jesus Christ? Yea, *this example* will preach your *funeral sermon*, (you *need* no other to do it,) and it will keep you *alive* when you are *dead*, and *immortalise* you upon Earth, make you of *blessed memory* indeed, and to be had with the *righteous* in everlasting remembrance, when the names of others shall be written in the Earth, which will soon be obliterated and quite blotted out; and when it shall be said of *them* as of Hezekiah's *father*, by way of reproach, "*This* is *that King Ahaz*." And such a good example many *have* left behind them, and we are ever and anon speaking of such as these whose names are as a precious *ointment*, and which were *embalmed* when they dyed, with the Graces, Virtues, and Good works of their lives, that still they send forth a sweet savor to surviving posterity.

4th. Embrace and improve all opportunities of appearing and speaking for Christ, (*another* service peculiar to the saints on Earth, who cannot speak a word for Christ in Heaven.) And *many* such seasons are providentially administered to us,

viz: sometimes of reproving sin, both in such as fear God and such as fear Him *not*. In the *Scriptures* you find the saints *reproving* one another. And how often also do the saints in Scripture reprove the *wicked* and the *ungodly?* We must appear for Christ; His Truth, His *Rules, and Glory*; or where is our *love* to Him? Sometimes you shall hear *cursing* and *swearing* in your presence; sometimes reproaching, slandering, filthiness, foolish talking and sinful jesting; sometimes you shall see covetousness, pride, passion, anger, and uncomely language, and sometimes inordinate affections, and sometimes gross omissions of duty either to God or man. Here now are opportunities of doing a service for Christ, and of appearing and witnessing for Him as you *cannot* do hereafter in *Glory*.

5th. There are *other* good and gracious offices to be discharged which cease when you are dead. I did briefly mention some of them in the doctrinal part. Let me now exhort you to attend to *them* also—as to *pray* one for another, which duty ends with your lives. For, as I have *said*, "God will have but *One* Intercessor in Heaven;" but *here* he requireth *many*. Here we may, yea, *must* be trading, one with another, viz: prayers for prayers, ministers with people—and people with their ministers, and *one* saint with another. Not, but that we must pray for *others* also. Oh! what a trade did *Paul* drive this way! I have sometimes thought what a *catalogue* of churches and saints he had to commend to God in his daily prayers! and as he prayed for the churches, so he desireth to be remembered in *their* prayers. For as I said, he drove a holy *trade* this way. He begs the prayers of the church at Rome, in the very language of a beggar for an alms. "Now I *beseech* you," etc. So of *other* churches; and here you see I have given you a notable *example* for imitation in this point. And think it *not* enough that you pray for *saints*, but perform the like service for SINNERS also; and be sure to pray for *children*, and children's *children*, that they may live in the Light of God, and bear up His name in their generations. Oh, Sirs, there is a great service to be done for *Christ*, by *prayers*, during the opportunity of our intercession,

which dieth together *with* us. What great things *have* been and still *are* done by prayers? By these was the church delivered out of Babylon and Peter out of prison. By these was *Zion* built. By these is the *Gospel upheld*—the *enemies* thereof *bridled*, and *liberty* obtained, etc.; and when God will do great and wonderful things, He will gather His *praying saints together* and pour out a *mighty* spirit of *prayer* upon them.

6th. Comfort the feeble minded, and support the weak. Speak a word in due season to the weary. For sometimes you shall meet with such as *want* it, who walk in *darkness* and see no *light*. This savoreth sweetly of the Spirit of *Christ*, who would not break the bruised reed, nor quench the smoking flax. The words are *diminutive*; for the meaning is, He would strengthen the *bruised* reed—He would blow up the *smoking* flax. He carries the *lambs* in His bosom; He lays them near His *heart*; oh! the sweet spirit of Christ. Let the same mind then be in *you* which was in *Him*. And when the case *requires* it, show yourself a son of *consolation*.

7th. In *Heaven* (you know) are no necessities, whereas *here* are *many*, which will give occasion therefore to such service as Heaven hath no *need* of. For *here* are *poor saints*, and the poor are *always* with us,—who sometimes want food, sometimes clothing, sometimes lodging, sometimes money, etc. You that are able must follow *Job's* example. The eyes of our Lord Jesus are much upon such good works as these, for He *beheld* how the poor cast their money into the treasury. Heaven affordeth no such objects of your love and compassion. There are indeed many beggars at Heaven's *gates*, but never a beggar *within* Heaven's *doors*; and there are many widows and fatherless children here, but never a widow nor orphan there. Brethren, be ye then merciful. It is that which will lengthen out your lives. Mercy, even to the *brute* creatures shall prolong your dayes, much *more* then to *men*, especially to the Household of *faith*. *Lazarus* shall *rise* and have a *new* lease of his life, to entertain Christ again; and so shall *Tabitha* to make coats and garments for *widows* again. Life is well bestowed upon *merciful* ones.

8th. Let us be willing also, (if need be,) to suffer for Christ, which is a service peculiar to this life. But I say, if *need be*, because we are not to *cast* ourselves upon suffering uncalled. We must *take* up, but not *make* a cross.

9th. Exercise those fruits of the Spirit which are *proper* to this life. You have heard of several, Faith, Hope, Patience, Love to Enemies, and to men out of Christ, sympathy — common gifts for edification — communication of knowledge, which is mediate in *this* life.

10th, and lastly. There is one thing which we are exhorted to do in this world, which cannot be done after death, and it is a very great service and highly incumbent on us, and I was willing to reserve it to the last place, that it might the rather abide by us, and it is this: Endeavor to transmit *pure* religion and undefiled to Posterity by commending it to your *children*. The Fathers to the children shall make known thy truth. And we may run it through Fatherhood at *large*.

But 1st. Let me speak of *Domestical* Fathers, that is, Fathers of *Families*. This is a *great* matter, and is the *special* work of the godly in their generations. How else shall that be made good which is written — "His *name*" that is, Christ's, "shall *endure* forever." His name shall be continued as long as the *Sun*, or, as some render it, His name shall be continued as a son continueth his *father's* name. Now *God* will use means to bring this to pass, one *special* one is this. The *fathers* to the children shall make known Thy truth. For how should the name of Christ be *childed* (as some render it) from generation to generation if care be not taken by Parents, to *child* Christ's name downwards to their offspring, that *His* name may be put upon their children, by being not only christians by baptism, but by regeneration, and this is one of the great works and ends of our lives, as Hezekiah distinctly mentioneth. Let such parents and masters *look* to it, who have been negligent in instructing their children and families; oh Sirs! care and pains for the godly being of posterity, is a great and necessary business. Admit of a few expostulations and consider,

1*st*. What will your children and servants say, when they come, to succeed you and peradventure dye at last in their *sins?* "Lord, our Parents and Masters did not make known the *truth* unto us. They did not *catechise* and instruct us. They did not deliver to us the form of sound words, nor any brief sum of the Articles of Faith and true religion, but we lived and died in ignorance, for they had no care of our souls, and if *others* dealt thus with *their* children and servants, *Religion* itself might have perished as *we* have done." Now would not *this* be most miserable? and are you *willing* to be thus indicted by your children and servants in *that* great Day?

2*d*. Doth not Hezekiah here say, the Father to the children shall make known Thy truth, and is it not exprest as a duty and a *great* one too. And doth not Hezekiah look upon *this* as one of the great works to be attended to in this world, without which it is not worth while to *live?*

3*d*. Consider with whom God hath entrusted the Gospel and True religion:

1*st*. He puts His *ministers* in trust with it.

2*d*. He entrusteth *all* His people with it, expecting their discharge of this trust by their utmost endeavors to transmit it to *posterity*.

4*th*. Consider the common care of Parents to bequeath their Houses, Lands and Goods to such as are to succeed them. They leave their substance to their Babes, saith the Psalmist. Shall they be *less* mindful to leave *behind* them and faithful transmit the *Pure* Gospel?

5*th*. Consider the covenant that Pious Parents are entered into with God. For when *God* saith, I will be Thy God, and the God of thy seed, He expecteth and requireth, that Parents do not only give up themselves, but their *seed* also unto *God*.

Is it enough, brethren, that you provide Meat and Drink, and Apparel, Portions, and Trades, and ways of *livelihood* for them. Will you love their *bodies* and neglect their *souls?* Will ye rob *God* of His children, and bestow them upon the world?

The exhortation reacheth

2*d*. *Ecclesiastic* fathers, such as are the *ministers* of the Gospel, and that is the reason why we make known these truths unto you, viz: that we may discharge our duties to our children, that *you* may discharge the like to *yours*. And every week, and every Sabbath, and every Sermon we preach can testify that we are careful to make known the truth unto you.

3*d*. There are also *scholastic* fathers, who have the care of training up children in *learning*, and these have their place as well as the former in the *fifth* commandment.

4*th*. There are likewise fathers *political*. For there is the father in the *family*, the father in the *church*, the father in the *commonwealth*, or country.

5*th*. There are *Fathers* in *age*, *gravity* and seniority, viz: such as are well *stricken* in age.

6*th*. *Lastly*. There are such, who though they are not called *Fathers*, yet are called *Elders*, viz: the members of the Gospel churches. So called, not in respect of *age*, but of State in these Gospel times, wherein the church is *past* her non-age, and is now in an *Elderly* state, requiring more knowledge, wisdom, strength, seriousness, gravity and solidity in the things of God.

Now let me mind you of that which may conduce to the attendance of this duty, and that is, an *heart* enlarged unto public service. Therefore you must endeavor to abound in *love*.

1*st*, to the *Glory* of God; and that it may extend to the generations to come.

2*d*, to the *Kingdom* of God.

3*d*, to the *Gospel* of God. This is the *Word* of the Kingdom.

4*th*, to the *souls* of men. It is a blessed thing to be a lover of souls. It makes a man like unto Jesus Christ, whose love to souls shines in his own *blood*. We should look upon these souls

1*st*, in comparison with our own;

2*d*, in the blood of the Son of God;

3*d*, in their relation to Eternity.

Thus, brethren, you have had a great deal of work set before you, and to quicken you to it, Consider

1*st*, that you know not how soon you may leave this world. Oh! be not silent BEFORE death, for *then* you will be silent *forever*.

2*d*. Consider the *account* you are to give, when your opportunity is ended. When the Lord cometh, He cometh to reckon, so when *you go* to the Lord, you go to reckon.

3*d*. Consider the greatness of the reward of good and faithful servants. They shall have as much joy as their hearts can hold. For they must enter into *it*, seeing it cannot enter into *them*.

4*th*. Consider further, that the good you do upon Earth, may *increase* when you are dead, and as *that* increaseth, so shall your *glory* still be enlarged.

In this way a father may convert his child, or children after his death, as I doubt not *many* have done. He heareth of it in Heaven two ways:

1*st*. By his additional glory.

2*d*. By the joyful acclamations of the angels for the conversion of a sinner. Oh! it is a *blessed* thing, and the *wisdom* of saints, to leave a stock of good works behind them, whereby to have a trade going on here on Earth, which will afford them fresh *incomes* of Glory, whilst they are already shining as the *Sun* in the Kingdom of their Father.

Thus much for the *first* use of Exhortation, to do all the good we are able during our dwelling here on Earth.

2*d Branch of Exhortation.*

Let the *second* Exhortation be to call upon you to value your opportunities, and to make the best improvement of *time*, whilst you are in the land of the living. Hezekiah, lately at the grave's mouth, began to value time. They that will not prize opportunity, shall have an *opportunity* to prize it. If they prize it not, *living*, they shall prize it, *dying*. Wherefore manage your seasons for the best ends while you have them, and fill up your days with *duty* and be not so *eager* upon the world, and the things thereof. Opportunity is a golden mattock to dig for heavenly treasure. Do not wear it out as many do in digging for pebbles, and at your latter end become a *fool*.

1*st.* Here are several of you that are young, or in your middle age, or about Hezekiah's age. Call yourselves to an account, and inquire of your own hearts what you have done. Peradventure but *little*. What then, if God should now lay you (as he did Hezekiah,) upon your sick bed, and threaten to cut off the thread of your lives? Would you not with *him* turn your faces to the wall, and weep sore? And yet I tell you Hezekiah had done a great deal of work for God during the time of his reign unto this sickness; and yet he *wept*. Youth, middle aged man, What hast *thou* done?

Peradventure you will plead your small capacity, and that you are but of mean degree; an obscure person; and exercised in *low* employments, and of weak parts, etc. Yea, but still what saith Hezekiah? "The living — the living, — *he* shall praise Thee." And are not *you* living? are *you* not alive: For, *any* man or woman living may praise the Lord, or else Hezekiah saith not well.

2*d.* You that are stricken in years, *you* have much to account for. For you have lived long, and perhaps *are* now grown *old*, but have you been *old Traders?* Yes, as to a worldly account, Yea, but there is another and a better trade, and what have you done therein? Oh! how many opportunities have you outlived, which will never have their resurrection? If, therefore, you should say as John the Baptist's hearers, What shall we *do* then? I answer —

1*st.* Be humbled for your former neglects and misspence of time, who in doing much have hitherto done *nothing*, and judge yourselves for your omissions.

2*d.* Bring forth fruit meet for *repentance:* old opportunities may not return, but God may be pleased to provide *new* occasions, whereby to bring forth fruit in *old* age. It seems Nicodemus was an old man when he came to Christ by night.

3*d.* Make up in *affection* what may be wanting in *action*. If you cannot *do* much, yet *love* much. And you have cause enough to do so, in that *God* hath given you to *live* so long, who have done so little.

4th. Stir up *others* to work for *God*, that what you cannot do by your *own* hands you may do by *others*.

5th. Pray for death-bed Grace, Faith, Hope, Patience, Peace of Conscience, composedness of Spirit, and such a frame as is fit to glorify God, and edify others, as your last farewell to friends. If God grant you *this* mercy, you may, perhaps, do as much good *dying*, as ever you did *living*. It was so with the Penitent thief upon the Cross.

3d use of Exhortation.

If there are opportunities of performing service to *God* in this world, which are not to be enjoyed after death, and the saints do that for *God* here, which they *cannot* do in *Heaven*, then, be not too eager in your desires to *die*. This was *Job's* weakness. We must not be too forward to dig our *own* graves. We may prepare them, as Joseph of Arimathea did, and also we must prepare *for* them; but let us not dig them impatiently or importunately. Life is a great mercy, yea, length of days. It is annexed to the obedience of the fifth commandment. "With long life will I satisfy him," is promised the righteous. Will not the child of God be satisfied without length of days? Yes, he is satisfied to die when God pleaseth. Abraham, Isaac, David and Job died *full* of days. Take heed. It is time enough to go to a glorious Eternity, when called, and when you are there, you will never say, you came not thither soon enough. Here is more service for you to do. Do not love your reward beyond your work. A *lazy* servant will be often listening to the *clock*, or looking upon the Sun, and longing for the evening, not minding so much his work as his wages.

4th use of Exhortation.

If the people of God can do more service for Him on Earth than in Heaven, be exhorted to prize their *lives;* pray for them to *improve* them. If Hezekiah here had died of his sickness, the people of God would soon have *raised* him, as when at last he died they did, for you know what came after. Consider what

a deal of good ceaseth with the life of a good man. It is true his *works* live, but his working is dead. Ministers shall preach no more; church officers rule no more; dispense no more. Public Spirits act no more. True, their examples, sayings, writings, memoirs, fruits of their former works may survive. But their persons, personal actings, delightful presence, sweet fellowship, wholesome counsels and ready helpfulness are dead and gone. Whereas these are great mercies, and many will say so, when they are gone, who made but *little* of them, while they had them. You know how the Elders of Ephesus, and the Brethren of Miletus wept at Paul's parting, sorrowing most of all, that they should see his face no more, and yet, after that, he lived many years, and wrote an excellent epistle to the church at Ephesus. Oh! how would they have wept, had he then died at Miletus! But *few* precious ones are prized enough till dead, and perhaps not then neither. The Israelites did not sufficiently value *Samuel* when he grew old, but when they had tasted what Saul was, and that Samuel also was taken away by death, then they all lamented him. Yea, and Saul himself also wanted him, who little regarded him whilst living. *Bring* me up *Samuel*, saith he to the witch at Endor. He that before would not go to Samuel, will now go to the Devil for him. *Bring me up Samuel*—yes, rake him by all means out of his grave, and oh! that Saul could but once more speak with Samuel! Oh! know the price of *living* saints, especially the most *useful* ones. You that are *children* and have *godly* Parents, who have made known the truth to you, take heed you think not they have lived too long, but know, that it is your *mercy* if they die full of years, and come to their graves in a *full* age, like as a shock of corn cometh in its season. Improve their lives and lament their deaths, as Isaac lamented Sarah. I beseech you, love and honor your godly Parents.

5th, and final use of Exhortation.

Seeing there is more service to be done on Earth than in Heaven, how should this exalt Christ Jesus in our *hearts* and

enlarge them in *love* to Him, who, as He wrought so much for *us* on Earth, so still is He at work for us in Heaven. *He*. He is the Great Worker in the Highest World. Alas! we can do little for Christ in Earth, and less in Heaven—yet Jesus Christ, whether in Earth or Heaven, is still at work for *us*. It is *not* with *Him* as with *us*. *Heaven* takes the work out of *our* hands, but it puts it into *His!* For thither is He gone to take and *keep* possession and to prepare *places* for us. There He executeth His Mediatory Office, continually appears and makes intercession for us, sheds abroad *His Spirit*, gives commission to the angels, and gifts unto *men*, calleth and gathereth in His elect ones, enableth us to work on Earth, governs the world, upholds the church, and subdues their enemies. All the *work* of Heaven lies upon Christ's hands, and it is well it doth, or what would become of us on Earth!

And as this should raise our esteem and love of Christ, so should it quicken us, the more to work for Him on Earth, seeing He is still at work for us in *Heaven*. He wrought above thirty years for us here on Earth, but in Heaven above sixteen hundred, and thus he will *continue* His work to the end of the world, To Him, therefore, be Glory and Honor forever and ever, Amen.

NOTE C. Page 73.

I REQUESTED my friend and former classmate, Rev. George P. Smith, of Worcester, to make an examination of the Discourse of Hooke on the 11th chapter of the Revelation, found in the Worcester Library, and he has kindly forwarded me the following notice:

A
DISCOURSE
concerning
THE WITNESSES,
Relating to the
Time, Place and Manner
of their being slain.

By
William Hooke, late Preacher
of the Gospel.

LONDON

Printed by *J. Atwood*, for *Thomas Cockeril*, at the *Three Legs* in *the Poultry*, over against the *Stocks-Market*, 1681.

The book begins abruptly on page 1.

"*Ques.* 1. Whether the witnesses were slain?" author answers, "I dare not be definitive," etc., says text is partly civil and partly spiritual. Slain not in the *streets* of Rome but street, i. e. in some province, i. e. Germany, say some. He proceeds negatively at great length, *not* here, not there, not this street, etc. The most definite answer I find is, that the Witnesses slain, are *dead in law*, as if in body.

Ques. 2. What if we should see such a slaughter and yet not the Resurrection of v. 11, for $3\frac{1}{2}$ years?

Here "dare not be positive whether Witnesses are slain or not." Here, negatively again, and an essay on Scripture "Resurrections" and "Babylon." On verse 11, he says, "The Spirit of Life entering them, they first rise on their knees and palms of

their hands and there they stick awhile, at last they stand upright but trembling," etc. This makes enemies tremble, v. 12!

Occasionally he uses words which imply a political reference, as when the Witnesses *ascend*, the great city will *descend* and pay tythe "for its late blood guiltyness."

Concerning verse 13, he proceeds in the same obscure manner—defining scriptural earthquakes. The Apocalyptic are 1, of the Roman Pagan world. 2, of Roman Christian. 3, 4, 5, Romish anti-Christian. Of the tenth he says, Great Brittainy must be one part. He says obscurely, That all Rome is guilty and in peril, as well as that part where witnesses are slain. On page 36, he speaks of "*this slaughter*" like the one in France in 1572, yet not designating what. On page 41, he is more explicit. "For though they (the witnesses) are not literally slain, i. e. not as men, but as witnesses, yet the Lord accounts it slaughter, yea and their very enemies account them as naturally dead, and they are greatly Oppressed, Vexed, Silenced, Imprisoned, Impoverished, and cruelly handled, and so, that it hasteneth also the death of some of them, (page 41. Here he evidently points to the ejected ministers) and reacheth also to the blood (as I may say) of many thousands of souls who depended upon their Ministry," etc. On page 43—And do we think now that all the prayers that have been made within these few years, by the saints in the world, will not end in a dreadful earthquake.

His plan is textual. Each clause is pregnant with meaning. Old Testament history is scattered all along and liberal quotations from the Bible. But his aim so far as I can get it, is, at the great ones, acting for Rome, who have silenced ministers, and he assures all such, that the saints' prayers are earth-shaking. His lastly is, "We see what a shaking world we live in."

This pamphlet of 48 pages, is bound with many others. The one before it, is on these same verses by T. Beverly. The one before that is on the Prophetical History of the Great Re-Reformation, that is to be in 1697. By T. Beverly, in 1689. The previous one by the same man, on the opening of some seal

in 1697. The book contains an original letter to Increase Mather, by T. B., accompanying one of his Treatises which is a reply to Baxter. From all which I gather, that just about then (from 1680 to 1690) there was a discussion on the Millenium, and men were busy expounding prophecy, so as to make the Bible a history of events then passing. I find no reference to * Regicides, nor do I think any such was intended. The witnesses, he thought ministers; their slaughter, was to kill them *as ministers*.

Supplementary Note.

The letter which follows was received through the kindness of the Hon. Abbott Lawrence, after the preceding sheets were committed to the press. It is inserted as expressive of the deep interest which not a few of our trans-atlantic brethren feel in everything which relates to the early history of New-England; although the kind endeavors of Rev. Mr. Waddington to shed light on the past and present condition of the Hooke family in the mother country have as yet unfortunately failed of the success which we had hoped.

Surrey Square, June 29, 1852.

Dear Sir:

I regret more than I can well express my want of success in the enquiries I have made with a view to obtain the information you seek relative to Mr. Hooke one of the founders of Taunton. I sent your letter and pamphlet to a correspondent in Taunton. It was long detained, but no particulars were furnished, except that the name is common in that neighborhood. I have put the narrative into the hands of another gentleman in that vicinity, but as yet have received no reply. I suppose you have seen the letter sent by Hooke to Cromwell which is printed in Thurlow's State Papers. In the course of other researches it is simply possible that some facts may come to light — but the

* The author of a brief notice of Hooke in one of the Taunton papers remarks: "This work was written probably on the execution of King Charles's Judges." An examination of the work proves this incorrect. It was suggested by the persecution of ministers.

ravages of time and the fires of London have consumed many papers that would be to us of untold value. The wonder is that so much remains. Recently I discovered a large file of American letters, (from Mayhew, Eliot, Mather, Sewall, &c.,) and sent copies of a considerable number to the Massachusetts Society. Other papers I am continually meeting with, but this is incidentally. The difficulty of answering specific enquiries is very great. Most certainly I will send without delay anything I may meet with about Mr. Hooke. The pleasure I should feel in aiding you in your object would amply repay any amount of care or labor needful to secure it. Mr. Lawrence has kindly undertaken to receive any letter or other document by the Despatch Bag—so that I hope to hear from you. Do not fail to send me whatever you publish that can throw light on the moral history of the early settlers in New-England. The accompanying pamphlet* I send for your kind acceptance. It must be considered as a mere outline of a more extended narrative.

Again expressing my sincere regret that I have found nothing, and with assurances of fraternal interest and sympathy,

I am, dear sir,

Yours faithfully,

JOHN WADDINGTON.

Rev. S. Hopkins Emery.

* Historical notice of the Church of the Pilgrim Fathers, Southwark, of which Rev. Mr. Waddington is Pastor.

CHAPTER III.

REV. NICHOLAS STREET, THE SECOND MINISTER OF TAUNTON.

Mr. Nicholas Street, having been set apart to the work of the ministry in Taunton on the same day with the Installation of Mr. Hooke, and associated with him as Teacher, on the removal of Hooke to New-Haven, succeeded him both as Pastor and Teacher. Although contemporaneous with the first, as his successor also, he may be properly regarded as the second minister of the town. We know less, unfortunately, of the ministerial or private life of the second than of the first Taunton minister. The only memorial of him in town, is the little bridge extending over Mill River, in Spring street, which to this day bears the name of "Street's Bridge." That he was not scantily endowed, however, with mind or ministerial qualifications, is to be inferred from the fact, he was called to succeed Mr. Hooke in New-Haven, which for the *second* time sought its supply of an able ministry in the Plymouth colony,* and from the additional fact, that he was regarded competent, not only to be associated with the distinguished Davenport, but on the removal of Davenport to Boston, as Wilson's successor, to take the entire charge of the church which had been, for many years, favored with the

* Note A.

joint ministrations of two of the most eminent men in New-England. The date of Mr. Street's settlement in New-Haven, as it appears on the church records, is "the 26th of the 9th, 1659." He was therefore a Pastor in Taunton rather more than twenty years. A colleague with the venerable Davenport until 1668, he continued the sole minister of the church which no common men had fed with knowledge for just a score and a half of years, till the day of his death, which occurred the 22d of April, 1674, having been a Pastor, Teacher, and faithful minister of the New Testament in Taunton and New-Haven, nearly forty years. Dr. Bacon, after reviewing the latter period of that ministry in New-Haven, pronounces him "a pious, judicious, modest man," and "no inferior preacher."

Mr. Street married for his first wife, a sister of Elizabeth Pool, the foundress of Taunton. His second wife was the relict of Gov. Newman. The inventory of his estate appears on the New-Haven probate records. The entire estate, including £136. 17*s*. 5*d*., which belonged to his second wife, Mrs. Newman, (and which by the will was to be her's exclusively,) was £463. 16*s*. His books were valued at £46. He had by him in hard money, £71. 12*s*. 6*d*.

Farmer, quoting from Dodd's East Haven Register, gives us a list of the children of Mr. Street, viz: Samuel, Susannah, Sarah, Abiah, Hannah, all of whom married. From the same source we derive the names of the three wives and thirteen children of the eldest child of Mr. Street, Rev. Samuel Street, a graduate of Harvard University in 1664, ordained at Wallingford, Connecticut, in 1674, who also died January 16th, 1717.

He married (1) Anna Miles, Nov. 3d, 1664; children: (1) Anna, b. 1665. (2) Samuel, b. 1667. (3) Mary, b. 1670. (4) Nicholas, b. July 14, 1677. (5) Sarah, b. 1681.

He married (2) Mardhire Daniels; children: (6) Samuel 2d, b. 1685. (7) James, b. 1686. (8) Anna.

He married (3) Hannah Glover; children: (9) Eleanor, b. 1691. (10) Nathaniel, b. 1693. (11) Elnathan, b. Sept. 2d, 1695, who was father of Rev. Nicholas Street, a graduate of Yale College in 1751, and minister of East-Haven, Conn., b. February 21, 1730. (12) Mary, b. 1698. (13) John, b. 1703.

Through a letter received "March 17th, 1852," from Eliza Dodd, writing for her husband, the compiler of the East-Haven Register, then blind. I learn, that "of the children of Rev. Nicholas Street, of East-Haven," grandson of the Taunton minister, through Samuel his eldest child, "Nicholas Street is all that is left, being eighty years old that very month. Rev. Owen Street, son of Nicholas," and a descendant of the Taunton minister, of the fifth generation, "is now in the ministry in North-Haven," doing his part, as he informs me in a letter dated March 30, 1852, "to keep up the clerical line." His grandfather, Rev. Nicholas Street, who was also grandson of Rev. Nicholas Street, "was for fifty-one years Pastor of the Congregational church in East-Haven." From the father of the East-Haven minister, who was Elnathan, the son of Samuel, and a deacon, "is descended in another line, Hon. Randall Street, of Poughkeepsie, for a time Member of Congress, and father of Alfred B. Street of Albany, the Poet." "I have met the name," remarks

Rev. Owen Street, "in Boston, New-York, Philadelphia, Charleston and New-Orleans. The name is not extinct in England. Macaulay speaks of one Baron Street of no very desirable reputation, and we are by no means anxious to claim him in our ancestry. One of the Proprietors of the London Times, I believe the chief Proprietor, bears our name."*

The Pastor of the Wallingford church, (Rev. E. R. Gilbert,) writes thus concerning the "Rev. Samuel Street, the first Pastor of the Congregational Church" there. He was the son of Rev. Nicholas Street, first of Taunton, afterwards of New-Haven: Mr. Samuel Street was also one of the thirty-eight, who settled this town." Mr. Gilbert kindly supplies us with the following extract from Dr. Dana's Century Sermon, in which he gives some account of Wallingford from 1670 to 1770: "Mr. Street (one of the undertakers and committee for the settlement) was first Pastor, and near forty years of age when he first preached to this people, 1672. He was son to the aforesaid Nicholas Street, teaching elder of New-Haven church. He moved with his family hither, April, 1673, the town having agreed to build him a house. He had an annual salary before any church was gathered here. Mr. Street died Jan. 16, 1717, being eighty-two years old, having been settled Pastor forty-two years. He was esteemed an heavenly man. His son Nicholas moved and settled at Groton. His eldest son (Samuel) has three sons now living in town, (1770) viz: Capt. Elnathan Street, and

* Mr. Street adds in his letter: "I made some inquiry a year ago of Augustus Street, Esq., of New-Haven, as to what might be known of a remoter ancestry, (knowing that he had recently visited England,) and learned that he made some investigations, and employed an agent to prosecute the matter, but soon after he left, that agent died, and the business was arrested there, with no results."

Messrs. Samuel and John Street. The eldest daughter was married to Deacon John Peck, and died before her father. One was married to Theophilus Yale, Esq.; another to Joshua Culver. The two last are still living. The widow of Rev. Samuel Street died July 19, 1730." It is to be inferred that the descendants of the Taunton minister are very numerous, and that they are distributed throughout the country.* No sermon of his, either printed or in Mss. has come under my eye. The New-Haven Records make us acquainted with one fact in his history, which reveal the high consideration in which he was held, not only by the church, but by the colonists generally. In 1662, at a meeting of the freemen of New-Haven, to consider whether they would resign their independence as a town, and come beneath the jurisdiction of Connecticut, Messrs. Davenport and Street were present, and strenuously and successfully opposed the measure. Mr. Davenport spoke first. Mr. Street followed in the debate. He declared that he looked upon Mr. Davenport's arguments as unanswerable. He thought that "both church and town had cause to bless God for the wisdom held forth in them." He exhorted the freemen "to keep the ends and rules of Christ in their eye, and then God would stand by them;" and he concluded by seconding Mr. Davenport's directions respecting an answer, "with one scripture out of Isaiah 14: 32. ("What shall one then answer the messengers of the nation? That the Lord hath founded Zion, and the poor of His people shall trust in it,") and from thence did advise that the answer should be of *faith* and not of fear." The decision of the meeting, after a full debate, was in accordance with the advice thus given.

* In a letter received from Dr. Bacon, he says: "the descendants of Nicholas Street have been numerous and respectable, every person of that name in the United States, (so far as I know,) being of that stock."

The same year (1662) a synod of the churches of Massachusetts introduced by a small majority, the innovation of the "half way covenant," i. e. the practice of baptizing the children of non-professors. Against this Messrs. Davenport and Street, although not acting members of the synod, remonstrated. President Chauncey of Harvard University, Increase Mather and other eminent men were on their side. When the result of the synod was published to the world, an elaborate reply followed from the pen of Davenport, with a prefatory notice by Increase Mather, and a brief but able supplementary paper prepared by Nicholas Street. In the absence of a sermon, it is proposed to reprint the above named production of the second Taunton minister.* There is another relic of our minister, which is not without its interest. When in 1668, to the great grief of the New-Haven church, Mr. Davenport removed to Boston to take charge of the first church, as successor to Wilson and Norton, both synodists, or "half way covenant" advocates, Mr. Davenport being the champion of the anti-synodists, a correspondence sprung up between the churches, resulting from the unwillingness of the New-Haven church to lose its minister, only a fragment of which, in the form of a letter from Mr. Street in the name of his church to the Boston church, remains. That fragment is a precious memorial of the man concerning whom the remissness of past generations permits us to know too little. The remnant of the letter is thus:

"Though you judge it the last expedient for your relief, and †the remedy of some evils growing in the country, as

* Note B.

† The majority of the first church, being anti-synodists, hoped the presence of such a powerful man as Davenport in the place would effect

also we might do the same, if we had nothing before our eyes but his accomplishments and fitness for high service to God in His church; but being so much in the dark about his way in leaving this church and joining to yours, that we are not without doubts and fears of some uncomfortable issue, we therefore cannot clearly act in such a way as is expected and desired. We are of the same mind as when we returned an answer to your first letter, thus expressing ourselves: 'We see no cause nor call of God, to resign our Reverend Pastor to the church of Boston by any immediate act of ours, therefore not by a formal dismission under our hands.' It is our great grief and sore affliction, that we cannot do for him, whom we so highly esteem in love for his work's sake, and profitable labors among us, what is desired, without wrong to our consciences. Any thing that we have or are, beside our consciences, we are ready to lay down at his feet. Such is our honorable respect to him, our love to peace, our desire of your supply, that we shall go as far as we safely can, in order to his and your satisfaction in this matter, having before us for our warrant, Acts 21: 14. 'When he would not be persuaded, we ceased, saying, The will of the *Lord* be done.' Therefore, to suppress what we could say touching that passage in our *first* letter whereof such hold hath been taken, and what we have said in our

tually check the growth of that evil which they dreaded. They were disappointed in their sanguine hope. The minority of the church seceded, and formed what is now known as the "Old South Church," and a very unhappy difference sprung up between the churches. Teh evil which they feared increased, and it is within the memory of the present generation, that the views of Davenport and Street have obtained the general assent of the order of churches to which they ministered. Thus imperfect is the judgment of short sighted man. Nor is it the first time forced removals have proved a change not for the better but for the worse.

last letter to you, of our Reverend Pastor's making null the liberty before granted which we doubt not we are able clearly to demonstrate, yet if this will satisfy, (but not otherwise) we are content to wave and *bury* in silence, and leave both yourselves and him to make what improvement you see cause (without any clog or impediment from us on that account) of the liberty before mentioned.' 'As he hath been a faithful laborer in God's vineyard at New-Haven for many years, to the bringing home of many souls to God, and building up of many others; so it is and shall be our prayer to God to lengthen his life and tranquillity in Boston, to double his Spirit upon him, assist him in his work, and make him a blessed instrument of much good to yourselves and many others. The Good Lord pardon, on all hands, what he hath seen amiss in these actings and motions, that no sinful malignity may obstruct or hinder God's blessing upon churches, or church administrations. As himself and his son have desired, we do dismiss unto your holy fellowship, Mr. John Davenport, Jr., and Mrs. Davenport, elder and younger, desiring you to receive them in the Lord as becometh saints, and imploring Almighty God for His blessing upon them from his holy ordinances in their communion and walking with you. The God of all Grace supply all *your* and *our* need, according to his riches in glory through Jesus Christ. Thus craving your prayers for us in our afflicted condition we take our leave, and rest yours in the fellowship of the Gospel.

NICHOLAS STREET,
in the name and with the consent of the
Church of Christ at New-Haven."*

* The date of the letter, of which these fragments were found, among

This fragmentary production of Street speaks volumes for him as a man of wisdom and grace. He certainly showed himself the equal of his eminent colleague in prudence and forethought. The letter could not well breathe a better spirit. It reveals a man rid of that petty jealousy which cannot endure a rival, which covets not co-partnership. The extreme reluctance of Street to part with his distinguished associate, indicates an unfeigned attachment towards him, and no fear, lest "so considerable a Gideon as Mr. Davenport," (as Hooke was pleased to style him,) should leave no room for one of the "lesser lights" to revolve.

the papers of the Old South Church, is "12. 8. 68." i. e. 12 Oct. 1668. The last page is numbered 155, indicating a long letter. It is directed "to the Revd Elder of the Church of Boston, Mr. James Penn, to be communicated to the church." There is a brief note attached to it by another hand which is nearly illegible. This letter furnishes the only specimen of the chirography of Mr. Street. It is a very fair hand. His autograph, through the kindness of Doctor Blagden, the present pastor of the Old South Church, is transferred to this book. I learn from Dr. Bacon, that the signature of Mr. Street, or Mr. Hooke does not appear on the records of the New-Haven church. They "were kept either by the ruling elder or by the deacons."

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER THREE.

Note A. Page 156.

It has been stated, Mr. Street left Taunton on account of inadequate support, and Dr. Bacon, in view of "his household chattels, as distinct from what were his wife's," (his second wife being the relict of Governor Newman,) is ready to believe that "he escaped from the Plymouth Colony in a somewhat impoverished condition." It is indeed true, what Mather observes, (Magnalia, l. 14: III. 114,) that there was toward the latter part of the 17th century, in the leading colony, "an hour of temptation, a dark hour of eclipse," when the people thought more of the unpremeditated "preachments of those whom they called gifted brethren," than of the thoroughly digested, well prepared discourses of a learned and able ministry. It is doubtless true, (what not only Mather, but Baylies and other credible historians state,) that "the Plymouth Colony at this period was almost wholly destitute of ministers," and that "Samuel Newman of Rehoboth was almost the only minister whose invincible patience held out under the scandalous neglect of the ministry which the whole colony of Plymouth was for a while bewitched into." However much we might wish to believe it otherwise, Taunton may have been thus foolishly "bewitched." Unlike the church of New-Haven, which refused its consent to the removal of Mr. Davenport, when their bereavement was only partial, our fathers may have been too willing to part with its *only* minister, in a season of temporary coldness. Elizabeth Pool was dead. Her brother had returned to Dorchester. Many of the fathers had fallen asleep. A generation was springing up who had not learned of the "virgin mother" of the town, and who instead of desiring two, were quite willing

to be bereaved of *both* ministers. Massachusetts looked upon the state of things in its sister colony with alarm. She had just laid the foundation of Harvard College with no other end in view, but a timely provision for a learned, and godly ministry. Her note of warning — of loud, kind but faithful remonstrance, rings throughout the treacherous colony. "Having heard," say they, "sometime since that our neighbor colony of Plymouth, our beloved brethren, in a great part, seem to be wanting to themselves, in a due acknowledgment of, and encouragement to the ministers of the Gospel, so as many pious ministers of the Gospel have (how justly we know not) deserted their stations, callings, and relations; our desire is, that some such course might be taken, as that a pious orthodox ministry may be reinstated amongst them, that so the flood of error and principles of anarchy, which will not long be kept out where Satan and his instruments are so prevalent as to prevail to the crying down of ministry and ministers, may be prevented."

This note of salutary warning was heeded. In 1655, we find the General Court thus reminding the people of Plymouth Colony of their duty.

"Whereas there have been many complaints for want of due maintenance for ministers, (as some have reported,) It is therefore enacted by the Court, that no Pastor or Teacher of any congregation shall remove before his complaint hath been tendered to the magistrates, and they have heard both sides. That upon such complaint, if there appears to be a real defect in the hearers of ministers, so complaining, the magistrates shall use all gentle means to upbraid them to do their duty therein, but if any of them shall not be thereby reclaimed, but shall resist through plain obstinacy, against an ordinance of God, then it shall be in the power of the magistrates to use such other means as may put them upon their duty."

We find the magistrates in some cases proceeding to coërcive measures, and at length, constrained by the laxity of a part, it became the settled policy of the Government to provide for the support of the ministry by law.

The Commissioners of the Colonies, in a general exposition of their views on this subject, embody them in the form of a series of propositions:

"1. We cannot, without breach of charity, but take it for a thing granted generally by the inhabitants of the United Colonies, that an able orthodox ministry is a precious fruit of Christ's death, resurrection, and ascension, and necessary for the spiritual good of His people, and to be daily sought after in every society or township within the several jurisdictions.

2. And secondly, that a competent maintenance, proportionable to the ability of the place, and necessity of the ministry, is a debt of justice and charity.

3. Hence, thirdly, the minister may justly expect it from the society and township wherein he labors.

4. The reference or relation of a minister being to the whole society, jointly, whether in church or not, his expectation of maintenance and the debt of justice is from the whole society jointly.

5. Although the society may, according to their discretion, use diverse ways to raise his maintenance, yet if the ways be ineffectual, though the defect may be by some particular person, yet the society cannot be discharged but is the debtor.

6. The engagement being on the society, and that according to religion and right reason, it necessarily followeth, that the society be enabled with sufficient power to discharge itself.

7. Therefore the General Courts shall declare such a power to be in such societies that there may be no pretence in them for want thereof; and if any society or township shall be wanting, either out of neglect or opinion, to procure and maintain an Orthodox ministry according to the Gospel, we conceive by the rules of Scripture, and practice of not only christian governments, but even of heathen, (who not only held their sacra in veneration but took care of those who had the keeping of them and the charge of making known the mysteries) that the several General Courts stand charged with the care, that the people professing christianity own and live according to the rules and

ordinances of their profession, and that the dispensers thereof be encouraged as aforesaid. The maintenance of the ministers being a debt of justice from the society, and the society being empowered to discharge it, if any particular person shall be defective in the society, they ought to be ordered by the ordinary course of justice."

Thus thought, and thus reasoned our fathers. "For a long period," remarks Mr. Baylies, "the disinterested zeal of the ministers and the fervent piety of the people prevented the necessity of legal contracts between them. The engagement between a minister and his congregation was held to be of a spiritual, and not of a civil character. But zeal alone could not furnish bread, and the wants of the minister did not diminish in the same ratio with the attachment of the people. A wild spirit (engendered perhaps in England) had gone forth, which proclaimed war on carnal learning, and relied for religious instruction upon the miserable crudities of "gifted men," upon whose minds it was fondly hoped a Divine influence was operating, which superseded the necessity of "book learning," and that the Word of the Lord might as well proceed from the lips of such rude, unlettered expounders, as from such as had in painful watchings by their midnight lamps, mastered all the intricacies of the primeval languages of the Scriptures, and expounded the Holy Writings after a critical investigation of their analogies, and a careful comparison of the evidence."

It is very certain that the first generation of our fathers were agreed in their views on the subject of an educated ministry. Their ministers may challenge a comparison with the same number of men in the same profession at any period or in any part of the world. Nor did a majority of their descendants, even in Plymouth Colony, adopt different views, as their declaration of sentiments in the meeting of the United Colonies, already quoted, and their subsequent stringent legislation on the subject indicate. We may hope Taunton was never one of the most degenerate towns in the colony in this particular. The most favorable construction to be put on the removal of Mr. Street to

New-Haven is this, that he was too ready to follow the bad example of his associate in Taunton, and predecessor in New-Haven, and that whereas Taunton loved not her ministers less — New-Haven loved them more.

Note B. Page 161.

The production of Mr. Street to which I had hoped to gain access, is beyond my reach, as the correspondence which follows will explain:

"*New-Haven, Tuesday*, 6 *July*, 1852.

Rev. S. Hopkins Emery —

Dear Sir:—The copy of Davenport's reply to the Synod with an appendix by Street, which I used in preparing my Historical Discourses, belonged to Rev. Dr. Robbins, now the Librarian of the Connecticut Historical Society at Hartford. I dare say he would lend it to you, as he lent it to me.

I think it must be somewhere in Boston, though I was not able to find it there in 1838. The Library of the Historical Society must have grown since then, and the Old South Library has been catalogued. The Antiquarian Library at Worcester, can hardly fail of having a copy, though I know nothing of it by personal acquaintance.

Yours truly,

Leonard Bacon."

"*Hartford, July* 21*st*, 1852.

Rev. S. Hopkins Emery —

Dear Sir:—I am glad that you are engaged in writing something about the early ministers of Taunton. I know but little of their history. Mr. Ephraim Judson, who was there from some time in the Revolution to about the year 1790, I knew. You speak of a volume which you say Dr. Bacon informed you that I owned. I conclude you refer to Dr. Bacon of New-Haven. I had such a book as you describe some years ago; but I suspect Dr. Bacon has seen it since I have. That book had several very valuable ancient articles, such as you refer to.

I lent it with very great reluctance to a minister in Philadelphia, and from him it was carried to Boston, to a gentleman, who was an editor of an important periodical. It was not returned as promised. It was a very rare work, and I suppose it has gone, as valuable books that are lent to friends often are. If you will find it, I will give you five dollars for it.* I shall be glad of a copy of your work when completed.

Yours, very respectfully,

THOMAS ROBBINS."

I do not publish the Doctor's letter for the sake of advertising his lost book, but that it may appear how a little remissness in the care of ancient and rare productions may deprive community of them forever. The only "production" of the second Taunton minister which has survived him is probably lost. It is not to be found in any of the collections of the writings of our fathers known to me in Massachusetts.

* I have received a second letter from Dr. Robbins, since the above was in type, in which he says: "I would give ten dollars for it gladly, but I do not believe it will ever be seen in this place, and probably no other that I know of. I have had the painful experience of losing such articles, by lending them to oblige friends."

CHAPTER IV.

REV. GEORGE SHOVE, THE THIRD MINISTER OF TAUNTON.

Of the ministerial life of Mr. Shove we can say but little, for it is next to nothing which has been transmitted. Not the smallest fragment of a MSS., religious or secular, remains. In the absence of all documentary evidence and traditional accounts, it would be unbecoming in us to affirm any thing positive concerning the success or failure of Mr. Shove in his high and holy calling.* His fame, however, as a landholder and dealer in real estate has not failed to reach us. He is represented as having been largely concerned in the secular transactions of the town, and possessed of considerable wealth. If it be true, what some have affirmed, that the ministers of Plymouth Colony about this time were suffering for want of adequate support, it is easy to account for this temporary diversion of the ministry of Taunton from their appropriate work,—their success in husbandry, and consequent improvement in their worldly circumstances. A minister who is obliged to turn aside from the duties of his profession to provide

* That Mr. Shove was highly esteemed, and his prayers much valued by one at least of his parishioners, is apparent from the fragment of a letter which has been preserved. Anthony Slocum, on removing from Taunton to Dartmouth, of which place he was an early settler, thus writes to William Harvey, his brother-in-law: "To the church of Christ in Taunton, and Mr. Shove and yourself in particular, I desire to be remembered, whose prayers I doubt not I and mine are the better for, and whose welfare I earnestly wish and pray for."

the means of support for himself and family, will be the most likely to accumulate and leave behind him a large property.

Mr. Shove was one of the proprietors in the Taunton North Purchase, embracing the present towns of Norton, Easton, and Mansfield. He was also one of the *six original proprietors of Assonet Neck, when that purchase was made in 1680.

Mr. Shove appears to have been a native of Dorchester,† was ordained at Taunton Nov. 17, 1665,‡ where he lived and labored§ till the day of his death, April 21, 1687.

* The remaining five were James Walker, James Tisdale, Walter Deane, William Harvey, and Richard Williams.

† I took this statement from a newspaper account, published some years since and accredited to Mr. Baylies. To test its accuracy, I wrote a distinguished antiquarian of Dorchester, from whom I received the following reply:

"I have been very conversant with the names of all the persons, who lived in the town previous to 1700, but there was no Shove ever there that I could find. There is a George Shove, M. D., who is a physician in Yarmouth Port, Mass., and quite an antiquarian. I presume he could give you important information about the matter. Truly yours, Eben Clapp, Jr." I have written to Doctor Shove, but received no reply. The birth place of the Taunton minister is as yet a mystery.

‡ This fact is very briefly stated in the Chronological and Topographical account of Dorchester, by Rev. T. M. Harris, in the 1st series, 9th vol. of the Collection of Mass. Historical Society, p. 192. The fact is taken from the first book of the Dorchester Church Records. Probably the church in Dorchester assisted through its pastor, and delegate, in the ordination of Mr. Shove. There is a mistake in the printing of the name, Shove being called Shone — a mistake corrected in a subsequent volume.

§ Any fact, even the most incidental and trivial, elucidating these labors of more than twenty years, is most welcome, in the present painful paucity of them. I seized the following with great avidity, a few days since, as I was examining the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society. In 1815, some one undertakes to give a view of early Free School instruction in Plymouth Colony. In the course of his remarks, he says: "In 1685, according to Mr. Shove, there were eighty scholars on the list of Taunton school, some of whom had entered Latin." I think I can discover in this brief notice of Mr. Shove, that he was not neglectful of the "Taunton School." Where there was then a single school with its eighty scholars, are to be found the present year (1852) more than thirty public schools with nearly forty departments,

He was thrice married. His first wife was Hopestill, daughter of Rev. Samuel Newman, the distinguished minister of Rehoboth, whom he married, (according to the "Proprietors' records,") July 12, 1664. Their children were as follows:

(1) Edward, born April 28, 1665; buried August 7, 1665.

(2) Elizabeth, born August 10, 1666.

(3) Seth, born December 10, 1667.

(4) Nathaniel, born January 29, 1668.

(5) Samuel, born June 16, 1670.

(6) Sarah, born July 30, 1671.

Hopestill, wife of Rev. George Shove, died March 7, 1673.

He was married the second time to Mrs. Hannah Walley, February 16, 1675. Their children:

(7) Mary, born August 11, 1676.

(8) Johana, born September 28, 1678.

(9) Edward, born October 3, 1680, died in Bristol, R. I., October 12, 1746.

(10) Mercy, born November 7, 1682.

Hannah, his second wife, died September 1685. He was married the third time to Mrs. Sarah, widow of Mr. Thomas Farwell, one of the original settlers of the town, December 8, 1686.

Through a descendant of the Taunton minister, now residing in Berkley, an influential member of the society

which have reached an aggregate attendance of twenty-two hundred scholars, under the direction of not far from fifty teachers.

From this same article I learned the probable name of the teacher of the "Taunton School" of 1685. Josiah Cotton of Plymouth, a teacher there in 1698, certifies, that "a Mr. Adams of Taunton fitted him for college." This Adams may have been the immediate successor of "schoolmaster Bishop."

of Friends, I have been favored with the following record of the children of Edward Shove, son to the Rev. George Shove, who married Lydia ———, and had nine children:

(1) George and Mary, twins, born June 2, 1705.
(3) Lydia, born July 31, 1707.
(4) Ruth, born September 10, 1709.
(5) Elizabeth, born March 10, 1710.
(6) Theophilus, born April 7, 1715.
(7) Edward, born Dec. 21, 1716, died July 22, 1778.
(8) Hannah, born June 19, 1719.
(9) Nathaniel, born May 9, 1723.

Edward, the grandson of the Taunton minister, married Phebe Osborn, April 12, 1739. Their children:

(1) Samuel, born January 29, 1740, died 1763.
(2) Asa, born March 26, 1741, died in Berkley October 26, 1826.
(3) Lydia, born December 4, 1743.
(4) Phebe, born April 28, 1749.

Asa, great grandson of the Rev. George Shove, married Elizabeth Collins, November 12, 1768. Their children were as follows:

(1) Samuel, born March 28, 1770, died May 5, 1822.
(2) Abigail, born March 3, 1772, died June 5, 1773.
(3) Lois, born May 12, 1774, died May 30, 1774.
(4) Abigail, born Feb. 3, 1776, died Jan. 1, 1808.
(5) Lois, born Oct. 17, 1779, died Jan. 20, 1804.
(6) Enoch, born Aug. 13, 1782, died April 25, 1783.
(7) David, born September 29, 1787.
(8) Rebekah, born October 17, 1790.

The second son of Rev. George Shove, bearing the name of *Seth*, was educated at Cambridge, where he was graduated in 1687. Mr. Baylies, having stated that he

was the minister of Danbury, Ct., a letter was forwarded Rev. Mr. Coe, the present pastor of the Congregational Church, which elicited the following reply:

"There is residing here a Deacon Ambler of the Baptist church, whose mother was a descendant of the Shove family: but no record goes farther back than Rev. Seth Shove, her uncle. It is the opinion of Deacon Ambler, confirmed by tradition, that Rev. Seth Shove was a *native* of Danbury, and though the first minister was *not a liberally educated* man. This would seem to argue that he could not have been the son of the Taunton minister." A second letter was immediately directed to the pastor of Danbury, containing facts, in view of which, he thus writes: "There is no doubt that Seth Shove, (the first minister of Danbury,) was a graduate of Cambridge and a son of George Shove, (the third minister of Taunton.) This you have proved clearly. I mentioned the case to Rev. Mr. Stone, the former minister, and he said, he recollected once seeing Seth Shove's name in an old catalogue, and it was his impression, that the first minister in Danbury was a liberally educated man."

A very clear inference from this correspondence is, that we can place but little reliance upon mere tradition. In this case surely it made two most egregious mistakes, since the first minister of Danbury was doubtless, (tradition to the contrary notwithstanding,) both a native of Taunton, and a liberally educated man.

These facts being established, the following statement found in Robbins' century sermon, is not without interest: "The first minister in this town (Danbury) was the Rev. Seth Shove, a very pious and worthy man, who was very successful in his exertions for the promotion of peace, vir-

tue and true religion; so that the general peace and union in his time, are proverbial at this day. He was ordained in the year 1696, and died October 3, 1735, aged 68."*

A large number of the descendants of the third Taunton minister are highly respectable members of the denomination of Friends, some of whom residing in Berkley, on a part of the estate which their revered ancestor owned, have taken a becoming interest in assisting to prepare this brief memorial of one, who has left not even his signature to reward their most diligent search.

* Barber's Conn. Hist. Coll. p. 367.

CHAPTER V.

REV. SAMUEL DANFORTH, THE FOURTH MINISTER OF TAUNTON.

THE paternal grandfather of the fourth minister of Taunton, according to Cotton Mather, was Nicholas Danforth, who lived in Framingham, in the county of Suffolk, England, "and was a gentleman of such estate and repute in the world, that it cost him a considerable sum to escape the knighthood, which King Charles I. imposed on all of so much per annum; and of such figure and esteem in the church, that he procured the famous lecture at Framingham, where he had a fine manor."* His wife, whose name was ——— Symmes, died in 1629, and he came to New-England in 1634, but died at Cambridge in 1637. He left three sons, viz: *Thomas* Danforth, prominent in the early history of the Massachusetts Colony, having been Judge of the Superior Court, Deputy Governor, and for a time President of the Province of Maine. He died at Cambridge, November 5, 1699, aged seventy-seven. Another son bore the name of *Jonathan*, settled at Billerica, Middlesex, where he died September 7, 1712, aged eighty-four. The remaining son was named Samuel, born in England, September, 1626, being eight years old, when his father came to New-England. He graduated at Har-

* Magnalia, Book 4, ch. 3.

vard College in 1643, a member of the second class which left that ancient Institution, of which he was afterwards a Tutor and Fellow.* He was ordained at Roxbury, as colleague with the celebrated John Elliot, September 24, 1650. He was a distinguished mathematical scholar, the author of a series of almanacks, and an astronomical description of the comet which appeared in 1664. "His sermons," according to Mather, "were elaborate and substantial. Though a very judicious preacher, yet he was therewithal so affectionate, that he rarely, if ever, ended a sermon without weeping."† He published several discourses — one of which was entitled, "the cry of Sodom

* There were four members of the class, viz:
Johannes Allin.
Samuel Danforth, Mr., Socius.
Johannes Jones, Mr.
Samuel Mather, Mr., Socius.
Samuel Mather was son of Richard, brother of Increase, and uncle of Cotton Mather. Mather and Danforth were the first Fellows of the University.

† His manner of conducting the sanctuary services is thus described by Mather, more in detail:
"On the Lord's days in the forenoons, he expounded the books of the Old Testament; in the afternoons, he discoursed on the body of divinity, and many occasional subjects, and some chapters in the epistle to the Romans, until the year 1661; and then he began to handle the harmony of the four Evangelists, proceeding therein to those words of our Lord Jesus Christ, in Luke 14: 14. 'Thou shalt be recompensed at the resurrection of the just,' on which having preached his last sermon, it proved indeed his last. He also preached a monthly lecture, and on many private occasions, at meetings of christians, in the families of the faithful. But instead of ever venturing upon any extemporaneous performances, it was his manner to write his sermons twice over; and it was in a fair, long hand he wrote them. His utterance was free, clear and giving much in a little time; his memory very tenacious, and never known to fail him, though he allowed it no assistances." It would seem that he did not confine his labors to the pulpit or the occasional lecture. "Unto all the other commendable things observed in the discharge of his ministry, he added that of a most pastoral watchfulness over his flock. Hence he not only visited the sick, as a messenger from Heaven unto them, one among a thousand, but when he met persons, recovered from sickness, he would at this rate accost them; 'Well, you have been in God's school, but what have you learnt? What good have you got?' And notable were the effects of these his applications."

enquired into, or a testimony against the sin of uncleanness"—another was an Election Sermon, preached in 1670, being called "a recognition of New-England's errand into the wilderness."* He died November 19, 1674, aged forty-eight. His colleague, Elliot, remarking on his death, says: "He made the most glorious end that I ever saw." Mr. Weld wrote a poem on his death.† He left twelve children, one of whom, John, was the minister of Dorchester, who died in 1730.‡ Another was Samuel, the fourth minister of Taunton.§

* In this discourse he reminds his hearers of their object in founding New-England in the following terms: "You have solemnly expressed, before God, angels, and men, that the cause of your leaving your country, kindred and fathers' houses, and transporting yourselves with your wives, little ones and substance, over the vast ocean, into this waste and howling wilderness, was your liberty to walk in the faith of the Gospel, with all good conscience, according to the order of the Gospel, and your enjoyment of the pure worship of God, according to His institution, without human mixtures and impositions."

† It "had a clause," writes Mather, "to this purpose:

"Mighty in Scripture, searching out the sense,
All the hard things of it unfolding thence:
He lived each truth; his faith, love, tenderness,
None can to th' life, as did his life express:
Our minds with Gospel his rich lectures fed;
Luke, and his life, at once are finished:
Our new built Church now suffers too by this,
Larger its windows, but its lights are less."

Mr. Danforth was given to making verses. Several specimens of his poetry are found in his almanacs. They are more musical than the verses of some of his contemporaries. The character and destiny of New-England are celebrated in a Poem of some hundred lines in an almanac for 1648, which is no mean performance.

‡ John, the minister of Dorchester, had a son Samuel, who was Judge of Probate in Cambridge, and a member of the Massachusetts Council. He was ancestor of the Doctors Danforth of Boston. (Mss. Letter of Walter R. Danforth, Esq., of Providence.)

§ The first born was named Samuel, but died in 1653. The next three died in 1659, of a malady called bladders in the windpipe. The eldest of these, not quite six years old, was so gracious and intelligent in her expressions, and behavior, both living and dying, and had such evident faith in Christ, that it furnished what the author of the Magnalia calls "a luculent commentary on that marvellous prophecy, that the child should dye an hundred years old." The minutes of what the sorrowing father spake at the funeral of the last child laid in the grave are

The Taunton minister was not only of clerical descent on his father's, but also on his mother's, side. His mother was the daughter of Rev. John Wilson, pastor of the first church in Boston, and grand-daughter of Dr. William Wilson, Prebendary of Rochester, England, who was also grand-nephew to Dr. Edmund Grindal, archbishop of Canterbury.

Samuel, the son of such an honored ancestry, was born in Roxbury, December 18, 1666, and was graduated at Harvard College in 1683. He married a daughter of the Rev. James Allen, who previous to his emigration to New-England, was a Fellow of New-College, Oxford, and on being silenced by the act of uniformity in 1662, came to America, where he "was ordained teacher of the first church in Boston, December 9, 1668, colleague with John Davenport, who was at the same time ordained pastor." He died September 22, 1710, aged seventy-eight, leaving behind him a reputation worthy of an associate with Davenport.

Mr. Danforth was called to the work of the ministry in

preserved, of which this is the beginning: "My friends, If any that see my grief, should say unto me, as the Danites unto Micah, what aileth thee? I thank God, I cannot answer as he did, They have taken away my gods. My heart was indeed set upon my children, but they were none of my gods, none of my portion; My portion is whole and untouch'd unto this day." In concluding, he says: "My heart truly would be consumed, and would even dye within me, but that the good will of him that dwelt in the burning bush, and His good word and promise are my trust and my stay."

John, the fifth child, born November 8, 1660, graduated at Harvard, in 1677, and was afterward the minister of Dorchester. Samuel, the second of the name, was the minister of Taunton, and the subject of this sketch. Their sister, Mary, was the second wife of Hon. Edward Bromfield, whom she married June 4, 1683, living with her husband fifty-one years. Edward Bromfield, their son, born November, 1695, was an eminent merchant in Boston, and father of Edward Bromfield, graduated at Harvard in 1742.

A second sister died October 26, 1676.

(Vide Farmer's notice of graduates of Harvard in American Quarterly Register for 1835.)

Taunton, with a large share of ministerial influence to precede, and prepare the way for him. He was much sought after. "The town," remarks Mr. Baylies, "was extremely anxious to obtain Mr. Danforth."* The following is found in the "Proprietors' Records," Book No. 4, page 29.

"Feb. 27th, 1687. It is voted that Captain Bartholomew Tipping† shall have ten acres of land adjoining to his own land, formerly laid out to him, at a place called Rumford, for his labor and charge to fetch up to our town Mr. Danforth, provided it be not prejudiciall to any highway or former grant."‡

Captain Tipping sold Mr. Danforth his house and lot, and the following persons agreed to give him certain parcels of land, "in part pay therefor," namely:

	Acres.		Acres.
James Walker,	10	John Smith, Jr.,	5
Peter Walker,	10	Samuel Holloway,	2
John Hall,	5	John Dean,	5
Thomas Lincoln, Sen.,	5	John Macomber, Jr.,	5
John Richmond,	5	William Paull,	5
William Withrell,	5	Robert Crossman, Jr.,	3
James Tisdill,	5	Joseph Leonard,	4
Edward Bobit,	5	Mary Street,	6
Elkanah Bobit,	2	Joseph Willis,	5
Peter Pitts, Senior,	5	John Hathaway, Sen.,	10
Jonathan Briggs,	4	John Briant,	10
Samuel Hall,	4		

* Mem. Plym. Col. 4th p., p. 80.

† Tipping was "brother-in-law" of Joseph, eldest son of Walter Deane. Bristol Reg. Deeds 1., 60.

‡ The same action of the town is referred to by Mr. Baylies, (Plym. Mem. Part 4. p. 80,) under the date of "Feb. 27, 1688," which does not agree with the Records of the Proprietors. The vote was passed according to their Records, one year earlier.

The above named persons may be supposed therefore to have been particularly desirous to secure the services of so eminent a minister as Samuel Danforth. Mr. Baylies assigns the time of ordination to 1687. It doubtless occurred in that year, as Captain Tipping had already brought Mr. Danforth to town before the 27th of February. It is a mortifying fact, that in the present state of our records, we are unable to speak with any certainty concerning the services of ordination. If his father, the minister of Roxbury, had been living, we could easily decide who preached the sermon. But he died before Samuel entered college. His older brother, John, doubtless was present, and may have given the Right Hand of Fellowship. His father-in-law, Rev. Mr. Allen of Boston, may have preached the sermon. Rev. Increase Mather, then President of Harvard College, may have given the charge, or offered the ordaining prayer, and Cotton Mather, a successor of his father in the ministry of Boston, may have addressed the people. Mr. Angier, the successor of Mr. Newman at Rehoboth, Mr. Keith of Bridgewater, and John Cotton, Jr., of Plymouth, doubtless were present, and took part in the proceedings.

The popularity of Mr. Danforth in the beginning of his ministry continued without abatement to its close. Nothing occurred to disturb the harmony of the relation formed. "He was peculiarly fortunate," remarks some one commenting on his ministry, "in retaining the attachment of his people. They were eager to settle him, and their interest in him endured unto the end." "His various qualifications,"* remarks Mr. Baylies, "rendered him extremely useful in town, and while he instructed his people

* Note A.

in all things touching their spiritual welfare, they found his advice and aid no less useful in their temporal concerns. He acquired over them an unbounded influence, which he exercised for the general good, and although some of them might dislike advice, which too often came in the shape of a command, yet as nothing was meant but their good, they acquiesced, and were grateful."

Mr. Allen in a brief biographical notice of the Taunton minister, pronounces him "one of the most learned and eminent divines of his day." * This well agrees with the representation of him by contemporaries. † He took a great interest in the Aborigines ‡ of this country — acquired their language, and prepared an Indian Dictionary, which was once in possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society, but which, I am sorry to learn from the Librarian, has been mislaid or lost. §

* Vide also Rep. Des. of Raynham, by Dr. Fobes, Mass. Hist. Coll.

† It is a remark of Mr. Baylies: "all his contemporaries represent Mr. Danforth as a person of great learning, and he certainly maintained a high reputation through life."

‡ The Rev. Mr. Grindal Rawson, Pastor of the church in Mendon, and the Rev. Mr. Samuel Danforth, of Taunton, spent from May 30th to June 24, 1698, in visiting the several plantations of Indians, within the Province of Massachusetts. They were appointed by the "Hon. Commissioners for the Propagation of the Gospel among the Indians, in the American plantations in New-England and parts adjacent." Their Report (which is to be found entire in the Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc. 1st Series vol. 10, pp. 129–134) gives a detailed account of the condition of the Indians at Little Compton, Dartmouth, Acushnet, Major Winthrop's Island, Chilmark, Tisbury, Gayhead, Edgartown, Munnepoag, Chaubaqueduck, Nauttekquet, Sandwich, Mashpah, Eastham, Harwich, Eastharbor, Billinggate, Plymouth, Duxbury, Asawampsit, Quittaub, Nukkohkunnees, Natick, Hapsinamnsco which is now Grafton. They must have been far from idle to make such a circuit in less than a month. Their record concerning Natick I transcribe. "We find a small church of seven men and three women: their Pastor Daniel Tokkohwompait (ordained by the reverend and holy man of God, John Eliot deceased) who is a person of great knowledge. Here are fifty-nine men, and fifty-one women, and seventy children under sixteen."

§ This was a Ms. copy, and had probably been loaned out with reference to its being printed. The experience of the Society in losing valuable memorials of our fathers has led to the adoption of such strin-

The only productions of Mr. Danforth which I have seen, are three letters* written from Taunton in 1705, and published by Thomas Prince in his Christian History in 1743; a manuscript letter† sent to Rev. Cotton Mather in 1720; a Religious Lecture‡ in manuscript, delivered in Taunton, Dec. 4, 1707; an Essay concerning the singing of psalms, published in 1723.§ and an Election Sermon preached and printed in 1714.‖ He delivered also an address, occasioned by the decease of Hon. Thomas Leonard, a distinguished parishioner, which was committed to the press in 1713, but after diligent inquiry I have been unable to find it.

The estate of Mr. Danforth embraced the present site of the Dean Cotton Mill, on Broadway, nearly opposite the gaol, which water privilege, I have understood from Job Godfrey, Esq., Proprietors' Clerk, was improved by the minister for a Saw and Grist Mill. Lest any should charge the learned divine with pursuing an unclerical calling, it should be added, that the mill was in charge of one of his sons.

Walter Raleigh Danforth, Esq., of Providence, a direct descendant of the Taunton minister has furnished me with the following record of the children of "Rev. Samuel Danforth of Taunton, and Hannah, his wife," which was found on "a detached leaf of an old printed volume" in his father's possession, "nearly illegible."

"1689, July 29, about 12 at night Elizabeth Danforth born.

gent regulations, as have subjected the compiler of this work to not a little inconvenience, but of which, in the circumstances of the case, he cannot find it in his heart to complain.

* Note B. † Note C. ‡ Note D. § Note E.

‖ The reprint of this sermon in the present volume is from a faithful copy of the original found in the Library of the Mass. Hist. Society.

1691. June 1,* Twins born, Mary between 11 and 12 at noon: Samuel a little after 12 at noon. June 3, the son dyed, and was buried June 6. June 7, Mary baptised, and dyed June 20th after 9 before noon, buried June 21.

1692. Nov. 11. between 9 and 10 post meridiem, James born, and baptised Nov. 13.

1694. Nov. 18. between 9 and 10, post meridiem, Sarah born and baptised 25th of Nov.

1696-7 † Jan. 4, Monday, about 5, post meridiem, Samuel born and baptised Jan. 10th.

1698, Dec. 5, Monday morn. between 5 and 6, Mary born and baptised the 11th day.

1700, Dec. 2, Monday night, after midnight, Hannah born, and baptised the next Sabbath.

1703, May 22, Saturday, about 4 post meridiem, Thomas born, and baptised the day following.

1704–5, Feb. 21, a little before midnight John born, baptised Feb. 25, dyed Aug. 15, 1706.

1707, Tuesday, Sept. 2d, between 9 and 10 at night, Martha born, and baptised and dyed Nov. 3d, 1708.

1709, Tuesday, Aug. 16, about 12 at night Bethia born and baptised.

The above purports to be copied "thus far," by Jno. Wilbur, Town Clerk, May 5, 1710. On the other side of the detached leaf is as follows:

* The record concerning the "twins" is confirmed by the following found on the "Proprietors' Records:"

"Samuel Danforth, his twins; the daughter called Mary. The son lived not to be baptized. Both dyed. They were both born the first day of June, 1691."

† The double dating so common in records prior to 1752 needs explanation. The year in New-England as well as Old England, formerly began on the 25th day of March. Parliament passed an act in 1752, that the year should commence with Jan. 1, adopting the New Style introduced by Pope Gregory in 1582. Many of the early records make dates between Jan. 1, and March 25, partake of both years.

"1711. July 8. The evening after ye Sabbath, about one hour before day Rachel born.

1714, May 31. Monday, Nathaniel born one hour before noon."

Then follows the record of their father's death: "November 14, 1727, Died ye Rev'd Mr. Samuel Danforth, in ye sixty-first year of his age."

In Harris' Chronological and Topographical account of Dorchester, (1st Ser. Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. 9, p. 197) under the same date, it is recorded: "Rev. Samuel Danforth of Taunton deceased to the publick loss;" which purports to have been taken from the church records.*

He lived, died and was buried among the people of his "first love."

It was a modest stone, covered with the moss of more than a century, which till recently marked the quiet resting place of all that was mortal of the fourth Taunton minister. It bore the following inscription:

"Here lyes buried ye
Body of ye Rev'd
Mr. Samuel Danforth,
who departed this
Life Nov. 14, 1727."

This was superseded by a more modern and costlier tablet in 1835, of which the following notice appeared some years since in one of the Providence papers:

"I was lately attracted to an extensive enclosure in the town of Taunton, Mass., consecrated as a repository for the dead, and amongst the numerous gravestones, which recorded the names, the ages, and the characters of those who had returned again to the earth, beheld a new monu-

* Note F.

ment erected to the memory of an eminent and learned divine, who had been dead more than a century, and copied from it the following inscription:

"Sacred
To the memory of the
Rev. Samuel Danforth,
who was born in Roxbury, Dec. 18, 1666;
graduated at Harvard College in 1683; was
ordained and settled, as the fourth min-
ister in Taunton, and continued in
the ministry 44 years, to the
time of his death, which
was on Nov. 14, 1727.

He was distinguished for his piety and learning, for his zeal and persuasive eloquence in the pulpit; and beloved for the amiable qualities of his heart, and for the parental interest he took in the temporal and eternal welfare of the people under his charge.

This stone is erected, May, 1835, by his only surviving grandson, Job Danforth, of Providence, R. I., now in the 91st year of his age."

The inscription was written by Walter R. Danforth, Esq., of Providence, son of Job Danforth, and a graduate of Brown University in 1805.

"The person thus commemorated," remarks Mr. Danforth, "was the first who was deposited in that cemetery,* where hundreds now lie around his remains."

* The cemetery on "the plain," bounded by the old Boston turnpike. The land belonged to the estate of Rev. Mr. Danforth, who gave it to the town, as Horatio L. Danforth, Esq., informs me, for a burial place. There was *one* person deposited there previous to the minister, according to the following inscription: "In memory of Hannah, ye wife of Capt. James Leonard, who died Aug. ye 2d. 1725, in ye 60th year of her age." A more ancient burial place is at the Neck o' land, now rarely used.

Mr. Danforth "divided amongst his children a very large estate." This is stated on the authority of Mr. Baylies. But how large, or how accumulated, I am not able to affirm. His wife and ten children survived him.

Concerning the widow, Hannah, the daughter of Rev. James Allen of the North Church, Boston, I learn the following facts, found in a "Clasp Pocket Book," originally belonging to James, the eldest son of the minister. His "mother was born in 1668, was married to Rev. Mr. Danforth in 1687, died Dec. 3d, 1761, in the 93d year of her age."

James, the eldest son, married Sarah Deane, the 6th of Nov. 1720, and resided in Taunton. I find the record of the following children in the above named "Clasp Pocket Book."

Sarah Danforth born Wednesday, ye 25th of Oct. 1721, baptized the 29th. It dyed ye 23d of Dec. 1721.

Hannah Danforth born Monday ye 25th of Feb. 1723, baptized ye 3d of March. She died in 1762.

James Danforth born Thursday, ye 16th of July, 1724, baptized ye 19th, died of the small pox in 1777.

Elizabeth Danforth born Saturday, ye 16th of July, 1726, baptized ye 17th, died in 1819.

Sarah and Silence Danforth, twin children, born ye 4th of July, 1729, baptized ye 6th. Sarah died in 1783. Silence died in 1814.

The father of the above died Feb. 27, 1759. The mother died Dec. 5, 1782.

James, the son of James, and grandson of the minister had children Asa, James and Polly. The last two died early. Asa, the eldest of the children of James the 2d, resided in Taunton, and had children as follows: Polly,

James, Hannah, Allen, Sally, George, John, Fanny, Elizabeth, Nicholas. Of these, five are living in 1852, and two, Polly and Sally, reside in Taunton. Allen married Lydia Seaver, and resides in Plymouth; John has been twice married and lives in New-London, Ct.; Elizabeth married a Thurber, and is in Plymouth.

Samuel, the second son of the Taunton minister, resided in Taunton — was a farmer and clothier. He served the town several years as Treasurer. He married Bethia Crossman, daughter of Nathaniel, Nov. 24, 1730, and their children were as follows: Samuel, Nathaniel, John, Oliver, Job, Elkanah, Abigail, Bethia, Molly, Hannah, and a still-born son, twin to Abigail.

The children of Samuel, who removed to Norton, were Thomas, Mrs. —— Copeland, Mrs. —— Newland, and Samuel.

The children of John who removed to Athol, were John, Joshua, Richmond, Abieser, Lewis, Polly, Rhoda, Sally and Lucinda.

The children of Oliver were Mrs. Horton, Lydia, Bethia, Hannah, Oliver Cromwell, Nathaniel, William, Sally, Asenath, and Nancy.

The children of Elkanah who removed to Bennington, Vt., were Betsey, Molly, Henry, Jonathan, James and Washington.

The children of Job, who settled in Providence, were Samuel, Ozias, Job, William, Oliver, Horatio, one died unmarried, Catherine, and Walter Raleigh. (The last of whom preserved the above record.)

Thomas, the third son of the Taunton minister, had children, Thomas, Elijah, and John. It is understood that he settled in Newton, Mass.

Elizabeth, the eldest daughter, married Mr. John Walley of Boston, and died before her father.

Sarah, the second daughter married Mr. William Downs, of Boston.

Mary, the third daughter, married Mr. Jacob Barney of Taunton.

Hannah, *Bethia*, *Rachel* and *Nathaniel* were unmarried at the death of their father.*

* Note G.

AN EXHORTATION To All:

To use Utmost Endeavours to obtain a Visit of the

God of Hosts,

FOR THE

Preservation of Religion, and the CHURCH, upon Earth.

In a SERMON Preached before His Excellency the GOVERNOUR, the Honourable COUNCIL and Representatives of the Province of the *Massachusetts-Bay* in *N. E.* on *May* 26. 1714, being the Anniversary Day of the ELECTION of COUNCELLORS of the said Province.

By SAMUEL DANFORTH,
Pastor of the Church in *Tanton.*

Isaiah lxiii. 15. *Look down from Heaven, and behold from the Habitation of thy Holiness, & of thy Glory.*

BOSTON: Printed by *B. Green*: Sold by *Samuel Gerrish*, at his shop on the North side of the Town-House. 1714.

Published by Order of His Excellency the GOVERNOUR & COUNCIL.

Isaac Addington, Secr.

BOSTON, *June* 4*th.* 1714.

An EXHORTATION to All

To use Utmost Endeavours

TO

Obtain a Visit of the God of Hosts.

PSALM LXXX. 14.

Return, we beseech Thee, O God of Hosts: look down from Heaven, and behold, and Visit this Vine.

THE State of the Church of Israel, when this Psalm was Penned, was very Calamitous (as appears from the matter of the Psalm it self) both with respect unto Sins and Judgments. And the whole Psalm is a Prayer in the Name and Behalf of the Church, unto God for Deliverance. In the verse before us, we may consider,

1. THE Description of the Church Prayed for, by that Metaphor of a Vine. To Explain which we may observe,

(1.) THAT Jesus Christ Himself as Mediator, God-Man, and as Head of the Church, is the True Vine, Joh. 15, 1. Christ compares Himself to a Vine according to His usual Custom of taking Similitudes from things Common

mon and Obvious ; such were Vines in Judea, Deut. 8, 8. Planted by the sides of their Houses, Psal. 128. 3. Probably of that House where Christ was when he spake those words. Christ is the Principal Vine, for whose sake the Church of Israel was compared to a Vine or Vineyard, because out of that Church the Messiah was to come who is the true Vine. Christ is that Vine, as God-Man, Mediator, to whom the Father hath given this Prerogative to have Life in Himself, Joh. 5, 26.

AND to be a quickning Spirit unto those implanted into Him, and who are given to Him to be His Members, 1 Cor. 15, 45. Christ is therefore likened to that which is the chief part of a Vine, Namely the Root and Stock, whereas His Members are but like the Branches. Christ as He is Man is of the same Nature with the Branches, as He is God He supplies the Branches with Spiritual Life and Grace. The Humane Nature of Christ is as the Conduct through which the Gifts of the Holy Spirit flow unto His People. As Mediator He both Merited Grace for Men and Infuses Grace into Men ; and more truly and perfectly nourishes Believers unto Eternal Life, than a Vine doth its Branches ; as an Head of influence unto them. Christ is then the true and proper Vine, others but secondarily so ; and depending on Christ, and deriving all their Spiritual Life from Him ; and obtaining all they have, for His sake : And that they are Vines in any sense is because God the Father to Glorify His Son, hath given them to Him in an Everlasting Covenant, to be brought unto Union and Communion with Him.

MANY Phrases in this Psalm may be referred to Christ ; He is Gods Joseph, verse 1, to whom belongs the Right of Primogeniture ; to be the First born of every Creature. He

He is the Man of Gods Right Hand, v. 17. Gods Benjamin, who is Exalted to sit at Gods Right Hand, and if this glorious Benjamin were not there, we should not be admitted to see Gods face. He it is whom God the Father hath made Strong for Himself v. 15, 18. Who did stand and feed in the Strength of the Lord, and in the Majesty of the Name of the Lord his God, Micah 5, 4. And as Christ intended to make His Church conformable to Himself; so in some respects, He would be like to His Church; therefore He would be the Branch, the Vine, the Fruit of the Earth, and would be brought out of Egypt, v. 8, Math. 2. 15. So that Gods dispensations to His Church were Typical of the Messiah in many things: Therefore also the same Title of a Vine, comprehends both Christ and His Church: as the Name of Christ is also given to His Mystical Body the Church, 1 Cor. 12, 12.

NOW God the Father hath Engaged Himself to be the Husbandman, when Christ condescends to be the Vine; the Father will and doth always manifest His gracious Presence with Christ as Head of the Church, to Assist and Help Him and Strengthen Him: and out of Respect and Love to the Lord Jesus Christ it is that the Father takes any Notice in a way of Pity, Compassion and Grace, of any Men or Societies of Men upon Earth.

(2.) THE Invisible Church of the Elect are likened to a Vine or Vineyard: They are the Branches ingrafted into Christ. It is an intellectual Mystical Vineyard; The Mystical Paradise of God, partly in Heaven, and partly on Earth. As God Planted an Earthly Paradise in the Garden of Eden, which did excel all the rest of the Earth; so since

since the Ruin of Mankind by Adam's Apostacy, God will have a Remnant among fallen Mankind in every Age and Generation, to be His Vineyard, Garden, Orchard, (or Eden, Eccl. 2. 5.) depending on and United unto Christ, the Second Adam: For God in His Infinite Wisdom so ordered the things of the first Creation, that they might be Natural Types of what He would do in the New Creation of all things by Christ.

THE Church is Gods Vineyard, which His Own Right Hand hath Planted, v. 8. 15. It is a Garden inclosed, Cant. 4, 12. Planted and Formed for Himself, to shew forth His Praise, Isai. 43. 21. Set apart for His Own peculiar Use, Service and Delight; The Church owns no other Master but Christ, reserves all her fruit for Him, and keeps faithful to Him. Those Planted into this Vineyard though by Nature they are Wild Plants, and of the Wild Olive, yet are made Noble Vines and a Right Seed, by Effectual Calling and their Implantation into Christ. The Creating Power of Gods Right Hand is put forth in infusing Grace into them: Mans Nature brings not forth the fruits of the Spirit without the Skill and Husbandry of Him that made it: We are therefore called Gods Husbandry 1 Cor. 3, 9. The Seed of the Fruits of Righteousness must be Sown in us by Gods Spirit, and Grow in us by His Blessing; so that as Israel were not the Natives of Canaan, but God did fetch His Vine from afar off, even from Egypt; So Grace is not the Natural Growth of our Corrupt Hearts; but is Transplanted into us from a further Place, even from Heaven. And although the first Planting of Virtue and Piety in Men be not without some bitterness, (our Inoculation Christ is not without Incision;) Yet the Growth of it is Pleasant and the fruit Sweet, and Wholesome

Wholesome. even as the fruit of the Vine, refreshing the Heart of God and Man. Variety of precious Graces and Vertues are implanted in them which are all Useful and make them fruitful in Good Works: And as the fruit of the Vine was used in Sacrifices, so the Good Fruits of Believers are a sweet Smelling Sacrifice unto God. They are made sensible that they are Weak and Worthless Creatures in and of themselves, (as a Vine is not Timber fit for Service, Ezek. 15. 1, 2. Fit for nothing but to be cast into the Fire: unless it bear fruit) yet being Vines Planted into Christ Himself, the fattest Soil; and underpropped by the Grace and Spirit of Christ Strengthning and Supporting of them; and the Excrescencies of Corruption being continually lopped off by their Careful Vinedresser, Joh. 15. 2. And being Watred every Moment from Heaven, by the fresh Influences of the Spirit, Isai. 27. 2, 3. They become Plants of Renown, amongst whom Christ Loves to Walk: and He delights Himself with the Observation of the Flourishing of this His Vineyard, Cant. 6. 11.

THIS Church of the Elect is the true Israel of God, verse 1. His Peculiar People on Earth, His Joseph, Gods First born among the Children of Men to whom all Church-Privileges belong as their Birth-right for their Saving Good: They are Christs Flock, v. 1. Gods Benjamin; And like Benjamin full of Changes, sometimes a Benoni a Son of Sorrow, and afterwards of Joy; The Son of Gods Right Hand, whom He Loves as dearly as a Man doth his Right Hand, or the Apple of his Eye, whom God is always ready to Lead and Govern by His Right Hand; and to whom He Swears by His Right Hand that He will be

their Preserver, Isai. 62, 8. Israel are often called Collectively Gods Son, as Hos. II. 1. And His First born, as if the whole Multitude of them were One Person, Exod. 4. 22, 23.

As here they are compared to One Vine.

(3.) THE Visible Church of God on Earth is Gods Vine. And Gods Transactions with the Church Visible do outwardly resemble the Spiritual and Invisible dealings of God with the Church of the Elect: and thereunto are afforded Outward Means and Privileges for the Saving Good of Gods Elect among them.

THIS Visible Church was built upon Christ the Messiah; that first Promise in Gen. 3. 15. Being the Foundation of the Church and of the whole Worship of God therein. Christ hath seen His Seed in all Ages past, and shall still see His Seed in all Ages to come. The great Work of God in all Ages, is to be Planting Vineyards or Churches, where there are none; and to Preserve those Churches which He hath already on Earth, and to restore them where they are under decays. Tho' Christs Church on Earth be a Weak and Feeble People, yet He makes them Strong for Himself, defending them against the Gates of Hell, Keeping an Hedge of Protection about them, and guarding them by Armies of Angels, and so caring for them that the whole World may discern that His special Care and gracious Providence is concerned for their Good, more than for the rest of Mankind.

AND the Dispensations of God towards Israel in Transplanting them out of Egypt into Canaan, and Erecting a Church

Church State and Ordinances among them (which the former part of the Psalm doth mention) are in some kind of Similitude acted over again in New-Testament times in all Ages of the Church: and will still be again acted over while the World continues.

(4.) Particular Churches are the Ministerial Vineyards of Christ, for the Exercise of Divine Worship, Ordinances and Discipline, like so many particular Inclosures under the Inspection of Particular Keepers, which make up and constitute the Visible Catholick Garden of the Church. And each particular Professor of Religion, (whether Sound or Unsound) is a Branch in Christ Visibly, Joh. 15. And each Christian hath a Vineyard (namely his own Soul) to keep and look after, Cant. 1. 6.

2. IN our Text is supposed, That the present State of Gods Vineyard then in the World, was very Distressed and Calamitous. They were fed with the Bread and Drink of Tears, and that in great Measure, verse 5. Afflictions and Sorrows were their constant Dyet, so that they could not refrain from mixing Tears with their Food: Tho' they had scarcity of Bread; yet had Trientals, treble Measures of Tears. שָׁלִישׁ Notes a Cup four times as big as the usual Cups they drink in; so that they drank Tears in Flagons rather than in Cups.

THEY were made a Strife to their Neighbours, verse 6. Their Enemies Strove among themselves which should make a spoil and a prey of them, and those who once were Neighbourly and Kind to them, now took occasion to quarrel with them, and they had now almost as many Enemies as they had Neighbours. Israel out of carnal Policy, joyned

joyned with their Neighbours in false Worship, and refusing to be Reformed by the Repeated Warnings sent them from God by His Prophets: therefore (because their Ways pleased not the Lord) God made their Friends turn to be their Enemies, Deut. 28. 47, 48, &c.

AGAIN, Their Enemies Laughed among themselves, verse 6. Made sport of, and delighted themselves in the Calamities of Israel: So the People of the Earth make Merry when the Two Witnesses are slain, Rev. 11. 10. Sampson was called for to make Sport for the Philistines, Judg. 16. 25. Israel were justly made a Derision and Hissing among the Nations after they forsook God, Psal. 44. 13. 14 & 79. 4.

AGAIN, The Hedge of Divine Protection was removed, and all that passed by took liberty to Pluck at them, v. 12. This came to pass as an Accomplishment of the Divine Comminations against them, Deut. 31. 17. Isai. 5. 5. Impure and Savage Nations, fierce and furious Enemies like wild Boars and Beasts, Endeavoured to root up this Vine, and Exterpate the true Religion.

THUS Gods Vine was cast as 'twere into the Fire, v. 16. Cut down, and become like the burning Bush which Moses saw all in a flame, likely to Perish utterly, without a Miracle of Mercy prevented its Ruin, and Total overthrow, v. 16. They Perish at the Rebuke of thy Countenance. And God seemed to be angry with the very Prayers of His People, v. 4. Tho' they sought deliverance with strong Cryes and Tears, yet obtained it not: but God in anger delivered them into the Hands of their Enemies, Psal. 39. 11. One Frown of Gods Face was (like the Scorching Wind we had this last Year*) sufficient to blast, wither and dry up the tender 1713.

*August 20.

Plants

Plants of His Vineyard. They hoped that their Prayers would have ascended like Incense and been as a Sweet-Smelling Savour unto God: But the Smoke of Gods anger against them discovered that fair Flattering Words would not Pacify a Provoked God.

3. IN our Text is set forth the Resolution of the true Israelites, the Remnant of Sincere Believers yet left in this Vineyard of the Church, Not to give over Crying to God for Relief and Help: but to persist in Penitential Prayers to Him even to the last Gasp: resolving to go no where else for Help: and being Satisfied and fully Convinced that One Look, One Smile, One Visit from Heaven would suffice to Recover the Vine from its Apostacies and Calamities.

THE DOCTRINE therefore, under which the Text may be Explained is this.

THAT Sincere Believers will Persevere in this Application to the Lord God of Hosts (notwithstanding all Repulses given to their former Addresses) for a Gracious Visit from Heaven to be made unto His Vine upon Earth, as the only and the Sufficient Relief against Impending Ruin by Sins and Judgments.

THE PLANTS in this Vineyard of the Church are Reasonable Creatures; and in Gods Visible Vineyard on Earth in times of greatest Degeneracy there will in all Ages be left a Remnant who belong to the Election of Grace, who being Effectually Called and Savingly United to Christ the Head and Root of the Vine (for the Root of this

this Vine is in Heaven, tho' the Branches while in a Militant State are on Earth.) These are true Penitents who are Mourners in Zion for the Iniquities thereof, Gods Remembrancers, who stand in the Gap to Keep off desolating Judgments by their Prayers and Pleadings with God: They will give God no rest Day or Night, but will plead with Him for Mercy as long as they have a Tongue, and Breath to Speak; and if their Breath fails, yet will even then give a look by Faith towards His Holy Temple in Heaven; and God knows the Meaning of their broken Sentences when they are almost out of Breath; He knows the Sense of their Looks and of their Stretched-forth Hands: and tho' He delay long, yet graciously Suffers Himself to be overcome at last, and *quasi*, Commanded by their Prayers; seeing they will not let Him alone, He yields to their Importunity, yea He Assists them by His Spirit in Pouring forth their fervent Prayers, and is so delighted with the Work of His Own Hands in their Hearts, that He Suffers them, as it were, to govern the whole World by their Prayers: seeing their Petitions are agreeable to, and coincident with His Glorious Ends, and designs which He proposes to Himself in Upholding and Governing all things.

1. LET us Consider the Object to whom their Prayers are directed. The Lord God of Hosts. GOD the FATHER, SON and HOLY SPIRIT; who hath Supreme Power, who hath all Creatures to Militate under Him, and can easily Vanquish the force of Enemies. He sits Chief over the Angelical Cherubims, verse 1. And hath His peculiar Residence in Heaven, v. 14. On whom the Church might depend for Salvations when all Earthly Helps failed them.

THE

THE Church of the Jews placed all their Hopes in the Messiah (when their Case was most deplorable) that at His Coming He would restore all things; And as God the Father who sent Christ, is called, The Lord of Hosts, Zech. 2. 8. So also is Christ Himself, who was sent by His Father. He sits between the Cherubims, Noting that His Throne is in the Third Heavens Surrounded with Angels; yea the Angels themselves partly constitute His Throne, on which He sits.

THUS in our Prayers unto God for His Vineyard on Earth, our Faith ought to be acted distinctly on God the Father, the Husbandman, Vinedresser, and Owner of the Vineyard; On the Lord Jesus Christ, the Root and Head of Influence to His Church; And on the Holy Spirit, by whom the Father and Son do Work peculiarly for the good of the Church.

2. THE Matter or Substance of their Petitions.

(1) *Return.* Gods promise to dwell in the midst of Israel, was on Condition that they kept His Precepts, Lev. 26. When they neglected this their Duty, they were liable to be forsaken of God, Jer. 7. Upon their Apostacies, God withdrew from them, hid Himself from them, carryed Himself as if He took no Notice of their Afflictions, took no Care of them, and had no Compassionate Regard to them.

THE Church then Prays here for the Tokens and Evidences of Gods Returning unto them in a way of Pity, Favour and Mercy. It's call'd Gods Coming to Save them, ver. 2. Unless God did after a Sort come from Heaven to Save them by His Efficacious Presence on Earth.

Earth, they could not expect to be delivered out of the Depth of Apostacy and Calamity which they were fallen into.

(2.) *LOOK down from Heaven and behold this Vine.* Hitherto God seemed to be so Angry with them that it seemed as if He would not design to Look on them, nor would give them a good Look, and would not Look after them, as if He cared not what would become of them.

THE Thing Prayed for then, is, a Gracious Look of Divine Providence, and Look of Pity and commiseration, as in Isai. 63, 15. Look down from Heaven, and behold from the Habitation of thy Holiness and of thy Glory: Where is thy Zeal and thy Strength, the Sounding of thy Bowels and thy Mercy towards me? Are they Restrained? God is said to Look down from Heaven when He Pities their Case, who are Extremely Afflicted beyond all Measure, and gives them such Remarkable Help, that None can doubt but that their Deliverance comes from Heaven: Psalm 102. 19. For He hath Looked down from the Height of His Sanctuary, from the Heaven did the Lord behold the Earth; to hear the groaning of the Prisoners, to loose those that are appointed to Death.

SO great is the Insolency and Cruelty of the Enemies of the Church: that Believers know if they could but prevail with the God of Heaven to turn His Eyes towards them, and Look upon their Distressed Case, He could not refrain from Helping and Pitying them, when no Eye is left on Earth to Pity them; and they know that one Look from Heaven is sufficient to turn their Enemies into Confusion. When God once said, that He had seen the Oppression of Israel, then Deliverance was not far off, Exod. 3. 7. 9.

(3.) *VISIT*

(3.) *VISIT this Vine.* I shall chiefly improve the time remaining in Explaining what is meant by the Divine Visit, or Visitation here Prayed for. And it may perhaps be Pleasant as well as Profitable to those who have Learned the Hebrew Grammar to hear the Word פָּקַד Explained which they have often repeated.

1. OBSERVE. That the Word פָּקַד commonly Notes the Acting of a Superiour towards an Inferiour. When Inferiours Visit their Superiours (as Children do Visit their Parents) it is to Comfort them with their Company, or to receive Council or Reproofs from them, to obtain Direction in their difficult Cases from their Aged Experience, and to obtain from them Supplies of their Wants: (And thus Men are said to Visit God when in Trouble, Isai. 26. 16.) And to pay their Duty, and Reverence to their Superiours. But Superiours Visit their Inferiours in a way of Pity and Care: So the Apostles Visited the Churches, and the Shepherds Visit their Flocks, to provide for them, and to redress what is amiss, Jer. 23. 2. Now the Visit here Prayed for, is requested of Him who is called the Shepherd of Israel, v. 1. The great Owner of the Vineyard, who in and by His Covenant with them had Undertaken the Office of a Shepherd, to Feed, Lead and Govern them, and to Rectify and Reform what was amiss among them.

2. THE Word פָּקַד is commonly used to Note, the Acting of God towards His People for their Good.

INDEED sometimes a Day of Divine Visitation signifies a Day of Calamity and Destruction which comes upon the Wicked and Impenitent. Isai. 26. 14. Hosea, 9. 7.

As there is a Common Visitation of all Men by a common Death, Numb. 16. 29. So there are more Special and Signal Days of Visitation, by Strange and Unusual

Deaths and by Desolating Judgments, Isai. 10. 3. Jer. 5. 9, 29.

BUT in our Text is meant, A Merciful Visit for the Restoration and Recovery of the Church from Sins and Judgments. Thus God is said to have Visited Hannah, when She bear Three Sons, 1 Saml. 2. 21. And to Visit the Earth, when He Waters and Enriches it, Psal. 65. 9. The Visit Prayed for is that of a Father afforded to his Children, which is with Pity and Compassion, with Care and Faithfulness, as well as with Power to Help them. Such a Visit Joseph promised that God would give to Israel: Gen. 50. 24, 25. God will surely Visit you, and bring you out of this Land, unto the Land which He Swear to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob, Exod. 3. 16. I have surely Visited you and seen what is done to you, Exod. 4. 31. When they had heard the Lord had Visited the Children of Israel, and that He had Looked on their Affliction, then they bowed their Heads and Worshipped.

3. A DIVINE Visit oftentimes signifies a Remarkable, and sometimes a Miraculous Appearance of God, in bestowing Mercies on HisPeople; or in Delivering them out of Trouble. A Divine Visitation is Real and Efficacious, an Actual Accomplishment of Mercy for them; and not a bare Preparation for Action. The Ordinary Common Visitation of God doth preserve Mens Life and Spirit, Job 10. 12. But there are more Special and Peculiar Visits of God afforded to His People by the more than Ordinary Emanations of the Power, Wisdom, Grace, and Spirit of God: when their Case as to Men, Means, and Ordinary Helps, seems desperate.

4. THIS Phrase of Visiting is Especially used to Express the Gracious Actings of God towards His Church, in

in and by CHRIST, who is GOD incarnate. When God sent His Son into the World to take upon Him the Nature of Man, then God is said to have Visited His People: Luk. 1. 68. Through the tender Mercy of our God, the Day Spring from on High hath Visited us, v. 78. What a Wonderful Visit was this! That He who was God should Visit the Nature of Man, and Advance it unto Union with the Divine Nature!

AGAIN. The Time of Christs Bodily Presence and Abode on Earth, is peculiarly called a Day of Visitation, Luk. 19. 44. Because thou Knewest not the Time of thy Visitation, Luk. 7. 16. A great Prophet is risen up among us, and God hath Visited His People.

5. THAT which the Church hoped would be the Happy Effect of such a Gracious Visit from Heaven, may be Collected from several Requests made in this Psalm, As,

1. IN General, they hoped for all Manner of Salvations, by such a Visit of the God of Heaven, v. 2, 3. Visit us, O Lord, and we shall be Saved, then our Sorrow will be turned into Joy, v. 7, 19.

2. MORE Particularly, Such a Visit would Turn them again, v, 3, i. e. Being a Happy Turn upon them, it would cause a Return of their former Prosperous State unto them: They should therefore be recovered from their fainting Fits, who were now at Deaths door.

OR Thus, Such a Divine Visit will Turn us again to our God by Unfeigned Repentance, and Recover us from our Apostacies: Visit us, O Lord, and then we shall be turned unto thee from our Sins, Jer. 31. 18, Lam. 5. 21.

3. SUCH a Divine Visit will Quicken us, v. 18. And Recover us from that Death which hath been upon our Piety

Piety and Prosperity: It will make our dry Bones to come to Life again; It will revive Gods Work, the Work of Religion among us. So shall we call upon Thy Name, and Worship Thee according to Thy Will, in Spirit and Truth. So shall we not go back from thee, v. 18. But a stop will be put to our Apostacy from God. The Messiah when He Visits us will Restore all things, put all things into Order again, will Subdue our Iniquities, and Reform our Evil ways.

6. LET us Consider some of these Glorious Operations of God in an Uncommon way of Mercy, which may bear the Name of such a Remarkable Visit of God from Heaven, afforded to His Vine on Earth.

1. WHEN the God of Hosts works by the Hosts of Heaven, the Holy Angels, for the good of His Vine; That is a remarkable Visit. Thus after Rabshakehs Railing and Blasphemy, the Churches Enemies were found all dead Corpses, being destroyed by an Angel. Also when by the holy Angels God stirs up good Motions in the Hearts of Men, and Spirits them to Engage in, and Perform some work for God. An Angel assisted Darius in wielding his new gotten Empire, Dan. II. 1. Angels assisted in raising up and afterwards raising to the ground those mighty Empires of Persia and Greece, Dan. 10. 13, 20, 21. All which changes on the Empires were ultimately for the sake and benefit of the Church of God: for God can readily part even with an Earthly Kingdom, and give it for His Churches good: So dear and precious is His Vine unto Him: And God hath Invisible State-Ministers (even the Holy Angels) to bring about the Fates of Kingdoms and Empires.

2. *WHEN*

2. *WHEN Suitable Means and Instruments are Unexpectedly raised up and afforded for the Restoring Religion, Peace and Order to the Church of God on Earth.* God remarkably Visited Israel in raising up Moses, to be their Instrumental Saviour, and in preparing him for Civil Government by a Learned Education; also in raising up Joseph to be a Father and Shepherd unto Israel in Egypt; So He raised up Judges in Israel to deliver them, who were filled with the Spirit in a more than ordinary measure. David, Solomon, Asa, Jehosophat, Hezekiah, Nehemiah, Ezra, Zerobbabel, were raised up to promote Temple-Work, and to set forward the Work of Reformation with all their might. In New-Testament times the Apostles were in an Extraordinary manner acted by the Holy Spirit, and made willing and able to Undertake that great Work of Gospellizing the World, which was then overspread with Paganism and Idolatry. In such Instruments Gods People see the Face of God shining Mercifully upon them.

ALSO when God ordaineth Praise and Promotes His Own Glory, even by Instruments as unlikely as Babes and Sucklings, Psal. 8. 2. And by things accounted foolish by Carnal Men, and things Weak and Base, and by things which are not, doth confound the Wise and the Mighty, and doth bring to nought things which are, 1 Cor. 1. 25, 29. And by Men of a Modest and Meek Spirit carries on His Work Successfully, so that they are not daunted and discouraged from their Duty, by the brow-beatings of Imperious Spirits; which shows that they are Acted and Assisted by a Spirit beyond their own, and that God is with them of a Truth.

IN such a Day of Divine Visitation God is wont to Communicate Ministerial Gifts in an Eminent Manner on

Gospel Ministers, and Increasing the Number of Preachers, and Increasing their Abilities, and Increasing their Forwardness and Diligence in their Work. When God gives the Word, great is the Army of them that Publish it, Psal. 68. 11. An Army of Laborers are sent forth into Gods Vineyard when He hath a great Harvest to gather in. In such a Day His Spirit is not merely Given, but Poured forth, in the Gifts of it most plentifully on such as are to carry on His Work, Acts 2. 16, 17, 18. And they have a Spirit of forwardness to double their Diligence in the Work of Christs Kingdom in such a Day and Season, and to act with more than usual Presence, Courage and Vivacity; their Hearts being Lift up in the ways of the Lord; They are pressed forward and go bound in the Spirit about Gods Work; They set forth with full Sail, having the fresh Gales of the Wind of Gods Holy Spirit to carry them along through most Arduous Affairs to promote the Glory of God, and the Good of His Vineyard: And sometimes even Youths or Young Men are so strengthened with Might in the Inner Man, as that they faint not in the Work of God. Even in great, and almost Apostolical Enterprizes and Services for God; as in Planting of Religion where it was not before.

3. *WHEN God gives His Vine such a Visit from Heaven, He is wont to give great Success to the Labours of His Servants whom He Calls and Appoints to Labor in His Vineyard.*

(1) AT such a time God is wont to make a People Willing to be Reformed by the Efficacy of His Spirit on their Hearts. They are made to be of a Teachable Spirit, and desirous to know and be Instructed wherein they have offended

offended God, and provoked Him to withdraw from them, and what it is that God would have them to do, that they may obtain the Returns of His Presence unto them again; Now *Pars est Sanitatis, velle Sanari.* The Work of Reformation will go on with delight when the People are generally Willing to be Healed and to Turn from the Error of their Ways, being Convinced of the Necessity of it to prevent the Total Ruin of this Vine. It was a Visit of God to the Hearts of the People which made them readily to fall in with the Leaders and Rulers in proceeding to a Publick Reformation in the Days of Josiah, Hezekiah and Nehemiah, so that they would Excite the Rulers to set about this good Work, and Strengthen their Hearts and Hands therein, Saying, Arise, this matter belongeth unto thee, be Strong and do it. Where-upon,

(2.) ALL Ranks and Orders of Men that Fear God are made to Unite in Promoting the Welfare of this Vine, when God thus Visits them from above. Its a remarkable Work of God to Unite the Hearts of Good Men in determining what ought to be done for the Promoting of Religion, the Reforming of Vice, and Encouraging Virtue, in Practicing what they have agreed upon for the good of the Lords Vineyard; that as they see Eye to Eye, so they draw all one Way; and readily to bury all lesser Jarrs and Animosities, rather than the Glory of God and the Work of Christ should be Obstructed or Neglected.

AND in such a time Men of an Inferiour Rank have been Signally Animated to give good Advice and seasonable Reproofs unto Others, so far as became their Stations: Yea in such a Day of Visitation, even Infants have had such Impressions on their Hearts as to cry out Hosanna to the Son of David: And Young Persons on their Death-Beds

Beds have been Extraordinarily assisted to give most wholesome and profitable Warnings and Advice to their Companions, for their Awakening to Repentance.

(3.) In order here-unto God hath been wont to give His People Remarkable Warnings, to awaken them out of their Security, to stir them up to Prepare to meet the Lord: As by many Sudden Deaths, Removal of Aged Christians, Amazing Fires, Pinching Scarcities, Epidemical Sicknesses, Perplexing Turns in Humane Affairs; and when God is about to Revive His Work in a particular Place, or among the Body of a People; He doth Sanctify those Warnings, and cause the Hearts of Men to be deeply Affected with the Dispensations of His Providence; and to consider that there is no Shelter for them against the Calamities impending, but only in God; and no Expectation to be Safe and Secure in the Evil Day, but by making Friends with Heaven, and Maintaining a good Correspondence with that Friend we have in the Court of Heaven, our blessed Lord JESUS CHRIST.

(4.) THIS Success of the Labourers in Gods Vineyard consists, in the Upholding of Religion where it is Set up, and in Planting and Propagating of it to other Places. It is the good Hand of God Working for His People, which provides Pastors after His Own Heart for His Church, Successfully from Age to Age; so that when Fathers in the Ministry have left the World, yet the Churches of Christ on Earth have not been left destitute of Qualified Persons to Feed them with the Bread of Life, and to Lead and Guide them according to the Rules of the Gospel.

AGAIN, It is a gracious visit from Heaven that Causes this Vine to Propagate; so that as People are Multiplyed, Churches

Churches also should be Multiplyed: and more Ministerial Vineyards and Gardens Enclosed, for our Lord Jesus to take delight in, and to walk in the midst of.

THAT remarkable Breathing of the Spirit in the Day of a Merciful Visit by the God of Heaven, which Quickens and Revives Grace in the Hearts of Old Disciples, doth commonly gain home some Others unto Christ, which were not Converted before: as that Sermon which much Affects an Old Christian, is likely to be a Means of Converting Sinners unto God. And the Increase of the Church by New Converts doth tend to freshen and quicken Grace in Old Disciples. Cant. 7, 12, 13. When the Vineyard flouri-hes, and the tender Grape appears and Pomegranite buds forth, which is a proof of Christ's Special Presence with His People. Reviving His Work among them: then the Affections and Delights of Gracious Souls are abundantly enlarged, and drawn forth after Christ, so that they want words to express how dearly they Love the Lord Christ.

AND the Propagation of Religion to Plantations formerly Ungospellized is Preparatorily attended with the Revival and Fresh Springing up of Religion in Places where it was before; the Church (like a Mother) hath many Throes and Pangs, in order to the bringing forth more Children to her Husband Christ; Namely, the renewed exercise of Humiliation and Repentance, and Pleading and Wrestling with God by Faith in Prayer for the Converting, and Gospellizing of Other Places: and the fresh Breathings and Pourings out of Gods Spirit on His People, who make up His Vineyard on Earth, is a Prognostick that Christ hath a Marriage Day at hand, wherein He will Espouse some Other People to Himself, Even such as knew

knew Him not, and that called not on His Name: and that His Church, like a flourishing Vine, shall Spread forth its Branches over the Walls, and Extend it self to those who before were not within the Pale of the Church.

OH! what luculent Evidences of a visit from Heaven are given forth in Planting the Gospel in Places where it never was before Settled, so that all must Confess, Verily God hath wrought this, and not Man: When the worst sort of Sinners are changed into Saints suddenly and Surprizingly; and of Opposers become Promoters of Religion. Was it not strange that Israel coming out of Egypt should be willing to lay themselves under Bond and Covenant-Engagements to keep and Obey all Gods Commandments, before they know in particular what God would Enjoin them?

AND although in this Age, we expect not Apostles to be raised up, acted by an infallible Spirit; yet it is Easy to grant that unto remarkable success granted to Men in the use of ordinary Means, there is often required a greater Concurrence of Gods Communicative Power, than in those that are Extraordinary. The Weakness of Instruments tends to set forth the Greatness of the Power of God put forth by them.

4. WHEN the Lord God of Hosts Looks down from Heaven and Visits His Vine on Earth, He doth remarkably Remove, Divert and Overcome the Opposition made to His Work. The Gates of Hell are always engaged in Opposition to the Gospel Kingdom, Math. 16. 18. The Gospel could never make entrance on the Kingdom of Satan, did not God Remove and Direct the Powerful Oppositions made to it. The Erecting of a Church-State among Israel, was like the Creation of a New World, the Making

Making a New Heaven, and a New Earth, Isai. 51. 15, 16. And this was a Day of Visitation to them. Hence it's said, Heb. 3. 7. To Day if you will hear his voice, &c. Sometimes remarkable Rebukes are given by Frights and Terrors of Conscience to Restrain those Labans, who would stop Gods Jacobs in their Purposes to build Altars to the Lord, and set up His Worship. There is sometimes a Day of Judicial Visitation, wherein the Chaff, Bryars, Thorns and Weeds: the Sticks and Stones, which offend the Vines, and hinder their growth, are Pickt up and thrown out of this Orchard and Garden of the Lord; Those who are obstinately bent to Oppose Gods Work, God hath a Day wherein to Remove them, and by terrible things in Righteousness doth sometimes answer the Prayers of His People for the flourishing of His Vine on Earth, Psal. 65. 2. Also God doth Restrain the Wrath, Bound and Limit the Malice of His Enemies, and Disappoint their Crafty Projects whereby they Endeavor to Circumvent, Prevent, and Obstruct all good Designs. The Wisdom of God herein, is in these Latter Ages especially Exerted rather than His Power. And the astonishing Hardness of Heart judicially inflicted on some at such a time, is also a sign that it is a Day and Season of a Divine Visitation. When there be Instances of some that are Provoked, Enraged, Tormented by that Word which Converts Others, Rev. 11. 10. Who are cut to the Heart to see the Gospel Flourish and the Kingdom of Christ prevail; and who do grow worse under all Divine Cultivations; that Sentence is past upon them, He that is Unjust and Filthy, Let him be so still, Rev. 22. 11. The Preremptory Opposition which such make to the Ways and Truths of God is a proof that their Consciences are scorched with it.

5. IN

5. IN such a Day of Divine Visitation of the Vineyard, God is won't to Prune and Lop off the Exuberancies of the good Vines, which hinder their Growth and Fruitfulness. God Sanctifies those Afflictions to them which He Exercises His Vineyard with, to Humble them and to cause Grace to take the deeper Root down-wards in their Hearts, that they may bring forth more and better Fruits upwards. Some forward Humoursome Saints, after God hath taken them in hand, and Pruned and Purged them by Afflictions, do become very Humble, Patient, Meek and Holy Christians: Others, almost ruined by a Worldly Spirit, after Divine Purgations become of a Publick Spirit, and forward to do Service for God: The Contentious are made Peaceable, yea become Peace-Makers; and the Selfish made Generous, and the Slow and Dull and Sluggish Christian quickened and made forward and ready to every good Work. At such a Time when there is a Revival of Religion by gaining New Converts unto Christ, Aged Christians are wont to Experience a New and Second Conversion in their Souls, wherein the whole Work of Repentance and Faith is Repeated and Exercised over again in them.

6. SUCH a Visit from Heaven for the Reviving and Reforming of Gods Vine on Earth, is attended with Remarkable Preservations, Deliverances and Outward Prosperity. The Fence and Hedges about the Vineyard are anew Repaired. The Church (yea the World) always fares the better, even in Outward respects, when Religion Revives, and when this Vine doth Flourish. Never any Plantation or Nations fared the worse for having Gods Vineyard Planted among them.

7. WHEN the Lord of Hosts doth in Mercy give His Vine-

Vineyard on Earth a visit, He doth not tarry with them merely for a Night as a Traveller and a Wayfaring Man, but makes His Abode with them. He grants them Days, yea Years of His Gracious Visitation and Presence with them, Hos. 9. 7., Jer. 11. 23. He doth not merely come Once to look upon His Vine; but often Returns to Set things in Order that it may flourish: He gives forth Repeated Effusions of His Spirit, and renewed manifestations of God in His Glory, when He is resolved to build up Zion, and to have His Work carryed on to Effect. God will not suffer His tender Plants to be Nipt in the Bud, tho' Satan Endeavour it by His Power and Stratagems.

8. WHEN He who is called the Desire of all Nations doth come and Visit His Vine, and cause it to Spread and propagate, there are usually great Concussions, Convulsions, and Shakings among the Nations; God then Shakes the Heaven and the Earth, the Sea and the Dry Land; and proportionably in a lesser degree, the Planting and Propagating of Religion in any dark Corner of a Land is not without Convulsions among them ordinarily.

BUT it is time to Proceed to some APPLICATION.

LET us all be Exhorted to Endeavor by Prayer, and all Other Proper Means to Obtain such a Visit from the Lord God of Hosts unto His Vine, which His Own Right Hand hath Planted in this Land.

LET us Consider,

1. THAT Nothing short of a Divine Visitation can Recover the Church from Apostacies and Calamities. All the Power of Men and Angels, cannot turn a Degenerate Plant into a Noble Vine, nor Recover a Degenerate

Church, nor Revive Dying Religion. The use of other Means of Gods Appointment, will avail nothing 'till God Himself do come down from Heaven by His Gracious Efficacious Presence, to work with us, by us, in us, and for us. Indeed God accepts of the good Will and Desires of His People, and of their Weak Endeavours to do what they can for the Promoting His Kingdom and Interest on Earth, and we have reason to be ashamed of our Slothfulness and Backwardness to do what we might do in our several Capacities to Promote Virtue and Holiness (for who knows but that God would as it were Step down from Heaven, to work with us, and by us, if we did Strenuously Engage in His Work?) But the Virtue and Power of Man is Weakness itself, yea Nothing; it is God who brings all to pass, which is done for the good of His Vine, Acts 3. 12. Paul may Plant and Apollos may Water, but God alone gives the increase. When Israel by their Sins had ripened themselves for Ruin, the Judgment of God came upon them, even in those times wherein they had Godly Rulers, and good Kings, and extraordinary Prophets, who used utmost Endeavors to Reform them, and so to prevent Impending Judgments from being Executed upon them; Vain then is the Help of Man to Save us from Sins and Judgments: If God forsake a People they are Undone, and their Case becomes as desperate as if they were already cut down and cast into the Fire, v. 16. When a People are Entered into a way of Apostacy and Backsliding from God, tho' at first their Motion be Slow and gradual, yet at length they (like the Possessed Swine) run down hill violently and grow worse and worse in a little time: *Facilis Descensus Averni.* What a Multitude fell away to Idolatry in Rehoboam's time? How many did Mahomet

Mahomet seduce in a little time? Sometimes the Apostacy (which is a sort of Conspiracy against Religion) prevails to such a height as to carry all before it; In such a time Iniquity abounds and none dare or care to oppose it: and none but God can stop Men in their Career of Sin, and turn them back from their Evil Courses; their Hearts being fully set in them to do Evil; None but God can turn them about and cause them to set their Faces to Seek the Lord God of their Fathers.

2. IT is the absence and withdrawing of God from His Vineyard, that is the Reason why all things are out of Order therein. When the Master and Owner of a Garden is long absent, Fences and Hedges soon decay, and the Garden and Orchard yields little Fruit for want of Digging, Pruning, Weeding and other good Husbandry, which the Masters Eye and Presence would from time to time carefully bestow upon it. The Sins of Gods Visible People Provoke Him to hide Himself from them, yea to forsake His Vineyard; we first forsake God by our Sins, before the Lord forsake us; and when we loose the gracious Presence of God, we soon loose both our Piety and Prosperity. How soon will ill Weeds spring up and grow apace in the Vineyard, and have remarkable Success in Promoting an Apostacy from God; and all attempts for Reformation are unsuccessful, when God is departed from Israel. The Means of Grace are Evanid when the Spirit of God is withdrawn, 2 Chron. 24. 20. Ye cannot Prosper, because ye have forsaken the Lord, He hath forsaken you: After Israel forsook the Lord, He deprived them of skilful Pilots to direct them, of Pious Priests to intercede for them: the destroying Angel arrested them and delivered them up, to the Fowls of the Air, and Beasts of the Fields;

Fields; and the Land of Canaan which God gave their Fore-Fathers was delivered up to the most wicked of the Heathen; first to the Romans, then to the Saracens, and at last to the barbarous Turks: and because they rejected Christ, the Light of the World, are Judicially given up to grope in the very Sunshine of the Gospel, like blind Men that can't see a beaten Path.

3. *CONSIDER, That the Return of the Lord God of Hosts, in a way of Mercy to Look down from Heaven and Visit His Vine in and by the Son of His Right Hand, is sufficient to Recover His People from the Lowest depths of Apostacy from God, and from the worst of Miseries and Calamities.* God can do every thing: with Him all things are possible: Nothing is too hard for God. One Look and Visit of this Great Physician heals the worst and most incurable Maladies. He can open the blind Eyes, mollify the hardest Hearts, and heal the most grievous backslidings of His People. He may at all times say, *Veni, vidi, vici.* When the Lord is pleased to pour out of His Spirit abundantly upon a People and rain down Righteousness upon them; when He waters it from above with the fresh influences of His Spirit, then the Vine shall revive and spring up as the Grass. When God comes to us from Heaven, and brings much of Heaven with Him to His People on Earth, then they shall be Saved, vers. 3. 7, 19. Where Christ comes, Salvation comes; so He said to Zacheus, This Day is Salvation come to thy House; The Lord never comes empty handed; wherever He sets up His Throne, His Train fills the Temple, He brings a Train of Mercies with Him for Soul and Body; There I will meet with thee and bless thee. Gods Meeting with His People never goes alone, without bestowing blessings upon them.

4. CON-

4. CONSIDER, After what Manner we should Pray for such a Divine Visit.

(1.) WE should Pray Humbly and Penitently. We should be deeply sensible of our unworthiness that the Lord of Hosts should give us so much as one good Look, or that He should come under our Roofs; and that it is infinite Condescention in the High and Lofty One, to come and dress our Wounds, and bind them up for us; seeing our Sins deserve that the Lord should cast us off for ever: We should Mourn for our Sins whereby we have Provoked the Eyes of His Glory to turn away from us; and have provoked Him to stop His Ears against our Cryes, and to hide His Face from us and to frown upon us with the Rebukes of His Countenance. However, we should humbly spread before Him our Lamentable State, our decays in Grace and Fruitfulness, that the Vineyard goes to decay and is almost dead; and we should spread before Him our Miseries and Distresses, that we are Undone, without His Helping Omnipotent Hand be put forth for the Revival of Religion; We should Prostrate our Selves at the Feet of Divine Mercy, resolving if we Perish, that it shall be in the Posture of Penitent Supplicants at the Throne of Grace for the Return of Gods Mercy to us. Who knows but that the Merciful God who heard the groanings of Israel, Exod. 1. 24, and had respect to them; will also be moved to Compassionate our Case?

(2.) OUR Prayers should be conjoined with Holy Purposes and Endeavours to Reform our Evil Ways, by the Help of GOD. Would we have the Great God come and Visit our Hearts, and our Houses, and our Churches, we should then Prepare for His Coming, by cleansing our Hearts, Houses and Societies, from all that is filthy and

ungrateful to Him; from all filthiness of Flesh and Spirit; Put all things in Order, if we intend that the King of Glory should come in and walk and dwell among us. Let us find out what the Sins are which Keep God at a distance from us, which Separate between our God and us, and Provoke Him so much, that He will not give us a good Look. We should cease from doing Evil, and learn to do well, that so the Lord without diminution of the Glory of His Holiness, may return unto us in Mercy. Those who continue Obstinate Sinners and hate to be Reformed, instead of Praying in a Right manner to the Lord to Return to us, do practically say to the Almighty, Depart out of our Coasts. How dare any but the truly Contrite put up this Prayer in our Text, That God would Look from Heaven and behold them, and their behaviours? Those who are going on in a Course of Sin, care not that a God of Infinite Holiness should behold and observe their Wickedness.

(3.) OUR Prayers for a Divine Visit should be Fervent and Importunate. Wrestle with God in Prayer, take no denial at His Hand: Oh! let us Cry mightily to Heaven for One Good Look more, the Smiles of His Countenance upon us, and that He would Return to us and leave a blessing behind Him; Plead with God, Lord, Hast Thou no Mercy in Store for this Generation? Hast Thou Utterly cast off and abhorred them? Art Thou resolved not to bestow of Thy Spirit upon them? &c. But How shall we plead in Prayer for such a Visit?

1. PLEAD we for the soveraign Grace of God to be exerted towards us, that which is undeserved by us, and for which we can make no Recompence: Let us Plead thus, O Lord, will it not Glorify Thy Soveraign Grace and Mercy.

Mercy, to Revive Thy Work among such a Degenerate People, to remove the Iniquity of our Land in One Day? Zech. 3. 9. Will not that be a Glorious Days work indeed? Will not the Lord gain as much Glory to His Great Name, by Pardoning our Sins, giving us Repentance, and by Pruning and Purging His Vineyard, as He can gain to His Justice by giving us up to our own Hearts Lusts, thereby to ripen our selves for Ruin?

2. LET us Plead for a Divine Visit in the Name and for the Sake of the Son of Man, the Son of Gods Right Hand; who is the Root and Head of the Vine; yea most properly He is the Vine it Self. Let us Exercise Faith in our Lord Messiah, our Great Friend in the Court of Heaven, to Intercede with God for us that such a Gracious Visit from Heaven may be afforded unto us on Earth. The Reason why Christ did no mighty Works in some Places, during His Bodily Presence on Earth, was because of their Unbelief, who dwelt in those Places; Let us strive against Unbelief and Labour for a Lively Exercise of Faith on the Promises, of the Covenant and on Christ in the Promises; for God hath Engaged to Return again to His People when they Return to Him, and Seek Him with their whole Hearts: So in Prov. 1. 23. Turn ye at my Reproof; and then Behold (beyond your deserts, and beyond your hopes, and to your Admiration) I will pour out my Spirit upon you. Let us plead that Promise made by God the Father unto Christ, That He shall see His Seed, or have a Visible Vine upon Earth in all Ages, notwithstanding all the Power & Policy of Hell whereby it is opposed. Let us plead the Interest which the Lord Christ hath in the Church on Earth, and the Glory that redounds to Christ the Mediator, by the Preserving, Propagating & Flourish-

Flourishing of His Vineyard on Earth: It is the only Garden, Orchard (or Eden) which Christ hath on Earth, wherein He takes delight to Walk, and Recreate Himself.

3. LET us plead with God that it is the Vineyard, which His Own Right Hand hath Planted, v. 8. 15. It is such a Work, wherein the Glorious Power of Gods Own Right Hand appears in every Age, to Plant Religion where it was not, and to Preserve it where it hath been Planted, and to Revive it where it is Decay'd and Languishing. Let us then plead with God that He would not forsake the Work of His Own Hands; That that Work (which above all other Works He appropriated to Himself, to be His Own Work) may appear to His Servants; that Work which He is pleased to call His Glory, may appear to the Children of His Servants; that Work of Establishing Religion among us, which is the Beauty and Comeliness of the Lord our God put upon us; may flourish more and more as an Evidence of a Divine Visit granted unto us, Psal. 90. 16, 17. Let us plead with God and put Him in Remembrance of this, That it is the great End & Design of Divine Providence in disposing of Kingdoms, and in all the Turns & Fates that attend them, to promote the good of His Vine upon Earth: and were it not for Gods Vineyard upon Earth, what would the whole World be but an Hell upon Earth. Where Religion flourishes, all other good Interests Prosper: But as Religion decays, so a People may conclude that things will go ill with them. This Vineyard of the Lord on Earth He hath an Eye and Regard to, in all other of His Works, and as it were lays aside all other Works, that He may Mind the good of His Vine. Yea He dispences Blessings, and Curses to Men, according to that regard or disregard which they have to His

His Vineyard on Earth. Gen. 12. 3. I will bless them that bless thee, and curse him that curseth thee. Let us then plead with God thus. Lord, thou knowest how few there be in the World that Fear Thy Name, that Profess Religion, that bring Honour to God their Creator, to Christ their Redeemer; Thou hast reserved to Thy Self but a Little Spot of Ground on Earth to be Thy Garden Inclosed; and all the Rest of the World are suffered to go on in their Own Ways to Thy Dishonour: and wilt thou not Stand by those that Stand for Thee? Wilt Thou not Honour them that Honour Thee? Shall Satan prevail & leave Christ no Garden-Spot on Earth to Walk in? For Thy Name Sake, Let it not be so.

5. CONSIDER, Some Motives to Excite us in our Prayers to God for such a Gracious Visit. We have the Command of God given forth to us, to put up this Petition Daily, Thy Kingdom Come! Unto which Command we should manifest our ready Obedience. We have the Example of the Church in our Text set before us for our Imitation, to Pray for the Lords Vineyard the Church, when under greatest Distresses & Degeneracies. We have the Promises & Prophecies of the Scripture, wherein Mercy is Stored up for the People of God; we have the Predictions of the future Glory of the Church, and some Pledges of it before Hand, Psal. 72. 6, 7, 8. In the Days of Christ the True Solomon, The Righteous shall flourish, there shall be abundance of Peace. He shall have dominion from Sea to Sea, and from the River to the Ends of the Earth. The taking down the Partition-Wall between Jews & Gentiles whereby the Vine of the Church was made to spread its branches over the Wall; did not take in the whole World into the Lords Vineyard, at Once; but

but there is still a distinction to be made between the Church and the rest of the World which lies in Wickedness; between a Religious People by a visible Profession and the rest of the World that are Perishing for want of Vision; therefore Gods dealings with some particular Nations and People may yet in times to come resemble His Dispensations towards Israel, in taking them to be a Select People to Himself, in Forming them to be a People peculiarly for imHself to shew forth His Praise, by Erecting His Visible Kingdom in all the Priviledges, Ordinances & Worship thereof among them. Let us then be moved to Pray in Faith, and with Hope and Expectations of the Glorious Things which are Spoken of, concerning Zion the City of our God.

ANOTHER Motive may be turned into an Expostulation with our own Souls. Are we Willing that Gods Mystical Paradise, His Garden of Pleasure upon Earth, should be quite Defaced, Razed & Extinguished? Are Aged Christians willing that Religion should dye with themselves? No sure, we dare not harbour such Cruelty in our Hearts! Let us then Cry mightily to God for the Preservation of His Vineyard, that Religion may be Propagated to the Succeeding Generations, by new Decents of the Lord God of Hosts from Heaven; by new & plentiful Effusions of His Spirit on all Flesh! We can't find it in our Hearts, to be willing that Religion should take its flight from our Land or that the Vineyard of Christ here should be under a Divine Dereliction! Let us then Cry fervently to God to Revive His Work among us in the Midst of the Years: that it may not be Charged on us, that we by our Lukewarmness & Slothfulness & other Sins Contributed to the Ruine of these Churches, and drove

drove away the gracious Presence of God from this His Vineyard.

LET me add another Motive: Namely, That we might Enjoy more of Heaven upon Earth were it not our own Faults. We might have more Visits from the Lord God of Hosts and the Man of His Right Hand, did we fervently Pray for them; For Christ hath promised to give His Holy Spirit to those that Ask it of Him; what God has wrought by some Glympses of His Gracious Aspect from Heaven in some Persons, Families & Plantations for the Reviving of Religion, demonstrates what He could and would do more generally and abundantly, when there is a general Application in a right manner made to Him for this Mercy. May we not esteem it a good Omen that the God of Hosts will lengthen out the Day of His gracious Visitation unto us (unless by our Apostacies persisted in we refuse His Company) even in this Century also, seeing He hath so ordered in His Providence, that this New & Famous House should be Erected, wherein we now Assemble, in the Metropolis of our Province, for that best of Uses, the Celebration of Divine Worship; and that this House should with such Expedition & Success be completely finished, in a Day of many & great Distresses upon us, whereby Occasion has been given to many to shew their Love to God & His House by their Liberal Donations towards this Building; withal Exercising their Faith and oHpe that God will still build up His Mystical House and Vineyard in this Land, and that in this House we shall Enjoy much of Heaven upon Earth, the Manifestations of God to our Souls, and those delights appropriated to His Mystical Paradise.

6. AND Lastly, Consider, Who they are that should more

more especially concern themselves for the Obtaining such a Visit from Heaven to be made to His Vineyard upon Earth, and more particularly to the Vine which the Lord of Hosts by His Own Right Hand, (working by remarkable Providences) hath Planted in this Wilderness. Now all Sorts of Men are Ranked into Rulers and Subjects: and something might Pertinently be Spoken from this Subject to them all. As to those in Chief Rank among us in the State and in the Church, My Innate Modesty forbids me, to say much; Yet I shall not wholly Pretermit the usual Custom of saying something with suitable Brevity.

AND in the First Place, My Speech may be directed to His Excellency, Our Governour in Chief,* who hath been betrusted with the Care of the Lords Vineyard in this Land for many years past.

EXCELLENT SIR, We Acknowledge the great Mercy & Kindness of our GOD, who hath moved the Heart of the QUEENS Most Excellent Majesty, to Impower & Improve Your Excellency, to Lead, Guide and Govern us; and that the Lord hath Preserved Your Life hitherto, and Your Abilities of doing Eminent and Remarkable Services for His Vineyard, in defending it against the Boars & Wild Beasts of Heathen Adversaries, and our other Neighboring Enemies, during the late Long War; and in Managing the Civil Affairs of this Province so as that the Vineyard of the Lord of Hosts therein hath Enjoyed Tranquility hitherto; and in giving forth Proclamations & Exhortations to Your People here from time to time to Excite & Encourage them to Set about the Work of REFORMATION: and in Countenancing and Encouraging

* Joseph Dudley.

aging the Propagation of Religion, the Planting it in the dark Corners of our Land, and the Upholding of it where it was Planted. We heartily render our Thanks to Your Excellency for these Favours; and believe your Excellency doth Esteem it Your Glory, and a sufficient Reward of it Self, that the Lord of Hosts is Pleased to Accept of such Your Desires & Endeavours to Promote the Flourishing of His Vineyard in this Land: and that on these Accounts All the Churches of this Province Salute You; and Pray for Your Prosperity. God grant we may have Always such a GOVERNOUR, who like Moses is daily Lifting up his Hands & Heart to GOD in the Heavens, for the Prosperity of these Churches: For the Fervent Prayers of Rulers keep off dismal Strokes from a People.

NEXTLY; TO the Honourable Members of Her Majesties COUNCIL, and of the House of Representatives; I would only add, That as You have hitherto, so we trust you will still, hold on and continue in your Pious Endeavours to Promote the Flourishing of Religion in this Land, the Suppression of Vice, the Encouragement of Virtue, the regulating of Disorders, the Composing of Differences, that Arise; that you may be able to say, That All that could be done by Men in your Stations, according to the best of your Abilities, for the good of this Vine, You have Endeavoured to be found in the Performance thereof: May the Lord God of Hosts accept of your Endeavours, and give them Success through His blessing upon them!

THIRDLY; To My Reverend Fathers & Brethren in the Ministry: I take leave in all Humility to say, That when the Lord of Hosts intends a Remarkable Visit to His Vine on Earth, He is wont to Raise up Ministers and fill those that are the Standing Ministry in His Churches,

in a more than Common Measure with His Holy Spirit; so that they are carryed forth with more than usual Courage, Forwardness, Diligence & Activity in their Station, for the Restoring & Preserving Religion in their several Charges; they have at such a time peculiar Impressions from Above, both as to the Subjects they are to handle, and as to the manner of treating of them; Their Faculties & Abilities are quickened & Enlivened, their Ministerial Gifts & Graces Enlarged, their good Affections and Zeal Encreased, and their Watchfulness over their Flocks to Promote their Spiritual Good more abundant than before; and a Spirit of Prayer is in such a Day of Visitation Poured out upon the Ministry in a High Degree, and the Bent of their Souls is to Promote Religion, to Convert and Edify Souls, and they are made Resolute in this Work, to Pursue & Prosecute it, notwithstanding all the Oppositions & Discouragements that attend them therein. And they are forward and ready to Reform what-ever is amiss in themselves, that they may become Patterns to the Flocks of Christ, Exemplary in Good Works, and as Shining Lights in a Dark World. Blessed be God who hath Supplyed His Churches with such a Ministry hitherto; and let us all Cry to Heaven that such a Ministry may be continued unto these Churches Successively; and that God will be pleased to Accompany their Labours with His blessing.

FOURTHLY; To Aged Christians: Give me leave to say; You are the Peculiar Friends & Ancient Acquaintance of the God of Heaven, who are yet left on Earth; Oh! therefore Improve your Interest in God to Prevail with Him to Look down, and Come down, and Visit this His Vine!

FIFTHLY;

FIFTHLY; To the Churches of New-England: who have been & are yet the Vineyard of the Lord of Hosts, who enjoy the Privileges of His Visible Kingdom, the Tokens of His Presence, the Ordinances of His House; and in that respect have from the first Founding of our Churches, and first Planting of this Vineyard, enjoy'd a Day of Divine Gracious Visitation; and altho' we have Experienced great Decays & Declensions, the loss of our First Love, and the Withdrawings of Gods Spirit; so that the Churches sometimes Complain of their Barrenness, that Few are Converted & New Born to Christ, and the Work of Christ is sometimes under Sensible & Visible Languishments; yet we have reason to Bless God who gives from Revivals of His Work, sometimes in One Church, and sometimes in Another; and from thence should be Encouraged to plead with God for a more General Effusion of His Spirit upon all His Churches, that all Parts of His Vineyard may Flourish; even the dark Corners of our Vineyard, that they may have Wisdom to know the Day of their Visitation, and to Accept of the Gospel Offered to them, and bid Welcome to Our Lord Jesus Christ, who Offered to come & dwell among them; lest they should Provoke God to Visit them in Judgment & Fury.

LASTLY; TO Impenitent Sinners and Hypocrites: Let me say, What will you do in the Day of Visitation? For when God gives His Vineyard a Visit in Love, in order to its Fruitfulness; Oh! what danger are they in who are as Dry & Withered Branches: they are as Thorns & Bryars in the Vineyard, that hinder the Flourishing of Religion in the Places where they Live? They may justly expect to be pluckt up by the Roots, Cut down and Cast

Cast into the Fire; unless speedy Repentance & Reformation prevent it.

Having thus after my Weak manner, given you the Explication of the Text, with some Application, as by Divine Leave and Help, Let us all as One Repeat it in way of Supplication; Return, we beseech Thee, O God of Hosts; Look down from Heaven, and behold, and Visit this Vine.

FINIS.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER FIVE.

Note A. Page 182.

What Mr. Baylies means by "various qualifications" is explained elsewhere: "He did not confine himself to theology, but attained a competent knowledge of the Medical art, and was no contemptible lawyer." The like idea is advanced in the "Introductory Notice" to this volume, where Mr. Danforth is represented as combining the offices and performing the functions of two at least of what are generally termed the "learned Professions."

I could wish that some one, at present engaged in the practice of Medicine or of the Law in town, would give us a detailed account of the rise and progress of these Professions. The few enquiries which I have been able to make on this subject furnish the following facts:

First, with regard to the *Medical Profession*.

Doctor Ezra Deane

is the first Physician, of whom I have any knowledge as practicing in Taunton. He was contemporary with Mr. Danforth, having died, (according to an old record found in the Danforth family,) "July 1, 1737."

Doctor Deane was the eldest son of Ezra, the second son of Walter Deane. His mother was daughter of Dea. Samuel Edson of Bridgewater. It is generally supposed he was the father of the family remarkable for its longevity in the history of the *Deanes*, eleven of his children living more than a thousand years. It is also supposed, that his house was somewhere in

Deane Street. One of his daughters, Theodora,* who lived more than an hundred years, was the mother of Doctor Job Godfrey, one of the most eminent Physicians of the town in the last century.

Doctor Job Godfrey

was the son of Richard and Theodora. Richard Godfrey was the son of Richard who married Mary Walker, and had two sons, Richard and James, and two daughters. Richard, the grandfather of Job, was the son of Richard, who married Mary, the daughter of John Richmond, and had sons, Richard, John and Joseph, the last of whom died single. Their father again was the son of a Richard, who was the original of the name in this vicinity and settled in Squawbetty in 1652, marrying a daughter of John Turner, and having sons, Richard, John and Robert.†

Doctor Godfrey was born in 1742, and died in 1813,‡ hav-

* The inscription on the stone in the grave-yard on "the Plain" thus records her death: "Theodora, widow of Major Richard Godfrey, died Jan. 14, 1813, aged 100 years, 14 days."

† There is an amusing story told of Robert Godfrey, which although it may reflect somewhat upon the deportment of Robert, seems to illustrate the general integrity of the times. Robert led a single life, and was not so mindful of all the proprieties of life as he should have been. He was once arraigned before Rev. Mr. Danforth, who was quite in the habit of acting as a Justice of the Peace, before the tribunals and ministers of the law made their appearance in Taunton, on the charge of offering to kiss a young lady for whom he had conceived a sudden fondness. The charge was sustained, and the clerical magistrate sent the offender with a note to the executioner of the law at Plymouth, directing him to inflict on Robert a certain number of lashes. The note was carried the whole distance on foot; the sentence of the court was strictly complied with, and Robert, smarting under the salutary castigation of the whipping post, was about to take his leave, when he was informed that it was necessary the execution of the sentence should be recorded, at the expense of the offender. Robert was in a great dilemma. He had no money, nor did he know of any one of whom he could borrow. He asked leave of absence that he might look up some friend who would minister to his relief. After searching in vain for a long time, he returned to the whipping-master, sagely remarking, that "he did'nt care whether it was recorded or not." So saying, he returned home as he went, on foot, probably resolving thenceforth to do better.

‡ Doctor Godfrey is thus described on the monument erected to his

ing practiced in Taunton nearly half a century, and acquired an uncommon reputation for skill and success in his professional services. He married Abigail Jones* of Raynham, and had six children, two sons and four daughters. Abby married Abiathar Codding and is now dead. Betsey married Elisha Padelford. Sally married Gilbert Winslow of Freetown. Hannah died single, and bequeathed $1000 to the noble object of suitably enclosing the Burial place on the Plain; which legacy has been faithfully appropriated by the executor of her will, Joseph Wilber, Esq. It were greatly to be desired that some other Hannah of like spirit might be found who would remember a still more ancient Depository of the dead, at the Neck o' land, which is too often desecrated by the boisterous sports of children, and the incautious tread of hungry cattle. John, the eldest son of the Doctor, is yet living at the advanced age of eighty-three — having been Proprietors' clerk more than sixty years, and at present is the only surviving ancient Proprietor. He has been preceded in his office by some of the most distinguished men in the town, viz: †George Godfrey, Brigadier General and Justice of the Peace; Benjamin Williams, Judge of Probate, and Judge of the Court of Common Pleas; Seth Williams, the son of Samuel, the eldest son of Richard Williams, and for a time Judge of the Court of Common Pleas; ‡Thomas Leonard, also a Judge of the C. of C. P. and a

memory: "A man of great worth, whose physical, intellectual and moral powers were remarkably adapted to his sphere of action. Fifty years of unexampled labor and success were testimonials of his excellences in the healing art, while his zeal to promote the general good was a proof of his benevolence. His heart was alive in all the relations of life. Honor, punctuality and justice marked his steps. The voice of pain and disease from the obscurest penury reached his ear and commanded his skill. He was justly entitled to the distinguished appellation of the disinterested Physician, a father to the poor. He died Aug. 26, 1813, aged 70 years."

* She died Nov. 28, 1814, in her 70th year.

† Judge Morton remarked to me once, that Brigadier General Godfrey probably did more law business, in the latter part of the last century, than any professed lawyer in town. Several bushels of his old papers, which have recently come under the examination of Mr. E. H. Reed, tend to verify this remark.

‡ William R. Deane in his genealogical memoir of the family calls

leading character in his day, and *Shadrach Wilbore, the model Town Clerk.

Mr. Godfrey married Catharine Montgomery, grand-daughter of Rev. Mr. Wales, the first minister of Raynham.

The younger son of Doctor Godfrey, Jones, led a single life, and pursued the profession of his father. He graduated at Brown University in 1793, and practiced as a Physician in Taunton till the time of his death in 1831.† He occupied the house of his father on the east side of the Neck o' land bridge.

Contemporary with Doctor Job Godfrey in the earlier part of his practice, were Hon. David Cobb and Hon. William Baylies, both distinguished not only in their profession, but in other departments of life. At one period of their life they were associate Judges of the Court of Common Pleas, holding their seats on the Bench at the same time with George Leonard of Norton, and Walter Spooner of New-Bedford.‡

Hon. David Cobb, M. D.

was the son of Thomas Cobb, Esq., who married Lydia, the eldest daughter of James Leonard. He was a graduate of Harvard University in 1766, and for many years a practicing Physician in Taunton. He was a member of the Provincial Congress in 1775, and for several years during the Revolutionary War, "belonged to the military family of Gen. Washington." He was appointed "Major General of Militia in the Old

Thomas Leonard "a physician." If so, he was contemporary with Doctor Deane, and united in his person almost as many professions as Mr. Danforth.

* Probably there were one or more clerks prior to Wilbore, but the state of the Records do not permit us to discover their names.

† There is a chaste but beautiful monument erected to his memory, on "the Plain," with this brief inscription: "Jones Godfrey, died Dec. 11, 1831, aged 61."

‡ This was in that period of our history, when men, not professed lawyers, were honored with the appointment of Judge, and bore the title of "common sense Judges." Taunton, in the preceding century, abounded in these "common sense Judges," whilst it has given to the Commonwealth the present century, others, who by their legal attainments, as well as their good "common sense," have adorned their place on the Bench, as well as at the Bar.

David Cobb.

Colony" at the close of the war, and at the same time performed the duties of Judge. It was whilst he sustained these two offices, that at the time of the Shay's rebellion, which reached this section, he made his way to the Court House, in the face of an angry mob, uttering the memorable words: — "I will either sit as Judge, or die as General." He was a representative in Congress from 1793 to 1795; a member of the Senate and House of Representatives in Massachusetts* — President of the former and Speaker of the latter — a member of the Executive Council, and Lieutenant Governor of the State in 1809. Doctor Cobb, who was also General, Judge, and Lieutenant Governor, married Eleanor Bradish, and had the following children: Thomas, William, Eunice, Eleanor, Betsey, David, Sally, Eben Bradish, Henry Jackson, and David George Washington. Eunice married Hon. Samuel S. Wilde, a native of Taunton, a graduate of Dartmouth College in 1789, and for a long course of years, a distinguished Judge of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts. Another daughter married John Black, Esq., of Ellsworth, Me., a prominent citizen of that place. David George Washington married Abby, daughter of Hon. Samuel Crocker of Taunton. Rev. Josiah Crocker, and Hon. Robert Treat Paine, both of Taunton, married sisters of Gen. Cobb. The residence of Hon. David Cobb was west of "the Green," near the present situation of Hon. Samuel L. Crocker. He died, according to the record on the monument at "the Plain," April 17, 1830, having been born September 14, 1748. His wife, Eleanor, died January 7, 1808, aged 61.

* It was through the influence and interest of Gen. Cobb, an Act of Incorporation was obtained for the Bristol Academy in this place in 1792, the Commonwealth at the same time granting the Institution "a township of six miles square in the District of Maine." Rev. Simeon Doggett, the first Principal, opened the Academy with an admirable address, on the 18th of July, 1796. The address was printed, a copy of which I have in my possession. The Institution, now venerable for age, is in a state of unsurpassed prosperity under the direction of Mr. Henry B. Wheelwright, a graduate of Harvard University, with several highly accomplished assistants.

Hon. William Baylies, M. D.,

was the son of Nicholas, who married Elizabeth Park of Newton, Mass. Their son William graduated at Harvard University in 1760, and having studied with Dr. Tobey of New-Bedford, entered upon the practice of his profession in Taunton, where, although subsequently taking up his abode in Dighton, he continued his practice, with the exception of a few years which he spent upon the Bench, to the time of his death, which occurred in 1823. He married Bathsheba, daughter of Hon. Samuel White, who was eminent in the profession of law, and the first, probably, who pursued it as a regular practitioner in Taunton. They had sons, viz: Hon. William Baylies of West Bridgewater, Hon. Francis Baylies of Taunton, Samuel White Baylies, Esq., who studied law with Gov. Sullivan, pursued his profession in Dighton, and died single. Their daughter Elizabeth, married Hon. Samuel Crocker of Taunton. Three children died in infancy. Doctor Baylies, during his residence in Taunton, occupied the house, originally owned and occupied by his father-in-law, Hon. Samuel White.

There were some others who probably practiced medicine in Taunton during the professional career of Doctors Godfrey, Cobb, and Baylies.

In the Burial place, half a mile south of the Weir, on the Dighton road, are to be found the following inscriptions, which have been transcribed by Mr. E. H. Reed:

"In memory of Doct. Micah Pratt, died Decbr ye 31st, A. D. 1758, in ye 67th year of his age."

"In memory of Mary ye wife of Doct. Micah Pratt, died April ye 26th A. D. 1762 in ye 80th year of her age."

"In memory of Doct. Micah Pratt, died Octo' ye 5th A. D. 1765 in ye 44th year of his age."

"Sacred to the memory of Mrs. Sarah, widow of Doct. Micah Pratt. She died Jan. 23th A. D. 1805, in the 83d year of her age."

"In memory of Mercy, ye daughter of Micah Pratt & Sarah his wife, died Nov. 16, 1747, in ye 2d year of her age."

"Abi, daughter of Doct. Micah Pratt. She died Oct. 24, 1773. 8 years."

From which inscriptions I infer that there were probably two physicians by the name of Pratt, father and son, who practiced in Taunton not far from the middle of the last century.

There is another inscription in the Burial place on "the Plain," also transcribed by Mr. Reed, which is as follows:

"Here lies ye body of Samuel Caswel, M. D., who died Aug. ye 13th 1755. Ætatis Suæ 35.

In Seventeen Hundred & Fifty-Five
Relentless Death Did us Deprive
of a very Useful Life
to Neighbor, Friend, to Child & Wife.
He safely Did Administer
as a Physician,
Consulting more his patients' health,
Than all extorted gain.
We that do love his memory
Would like him live, yt when we die
We may enjoy felicity."

"Samuel, son of Samuel Caswel, M. D., & Mary his wife died July 17, 1753 aged (illegible) wanting five days."

Doct. Caswel therefore is to be regarded as contemporary with the Doctors Pratt. He died early, and all we know of him is recorded upon the stone "erected to his memory."

Doctor McKinstry

was a member of the medical profession in town during the last century. He was a Scotchman by birth, and a person, (if we may rely upon traditional accounts) of highly respectable personal and professional character. He built and occupied a house on the site of the present Wheaton house, next to the Episcopal Church, where Rev. Mr. Judson, and afterwards James Sproat, Esq., lived.

The following records are found in the Burial place on the Plain.

"William, son of M. D. William McKinstry, and Priscilla,

his wife departed this life on ye day of his birth, Dec. 18, 1761."

"In memory of John, son of M. D. William McKinstry, & of Priscilla, his wife, died Dec. 21, 1768, in ye 5th year of his age."

"Here lies ye body of Mrs. Elizabeth McKinstry, basely murthered by a Negro Boy, June ye 4th 1763, aged 28."

The "base murder" of Doctor McKinstry's sister Elizabeth is a tragical event in the history of the town which has not yet ceased to be talked about by the aged people of the place.

Doctor Ephraim Otis,

a graduate of Harvard University, in 1756, located in Taunton as a Physician. I do not know that there are any traces of the family now in town. He removed from Taunton to Scituate.

Job Godfrey, Esq., remembers to have heard of a Doctor Macomber also, although he is not sure that he was a regularly educated member of the profession.

Doctor Foster Swift*

practiced as a Physician in Taunton the earlier part of the present century. He was the son of a lawyer in Boston, and inherited a good degree of wit and humor. He was brought up in the famous apothecary shop of Doctor Joseph Gardner in Boston. He married a Delano, of Nantucket, and first settled in Dartmouth. On coming to Taunton, late in the last century,

* Doctor Swift was very intimate with John Foster, when that eccentric and erratic member of the clerical profession first came to town. Whether it was the name or the man which attracted the Doctor, I have never heard. But for some reason the intimacy suddenly ceased, and the Doctor drew up a list of seventeen charges against the personal and ministerial character of his former friend. The proceedings at the time of trial, (which was of course ecclesiastical,) are described by those who remember them, as most amusing. The Doctor found his antagonist too powerful for him, and entirely failed in convicting a man, whose subsequent career would lead us to think that even seventeen charges were not an extravagant number to prefer against him.

he opened an apothecary's shop* opposite the north-west corner of the Green, not far from the present Wilmarth estate. Having pursued his profession for a series of years, he left town, and took up his residence in Boston, where he was honored with the appointment of United States Hospital Surgeon, in which situation he died.

Doctor George Leonard,

son of Samuel Leonard, Esq.,† of Taunton, succeeded to the practice of Doctor Swift in 1806. He is now the oldest medical practitioner in town. He married a daughter of Judge Fales.

Doctor Alfred Baylies

son of Thomas, and nephew of Doctor William Baylies of Dighton, commenced practice in 1811. His first wife was a daughter of James Sproat, Esq.

Dr. Ebenezer Dawes

entered upon the profession not far from the same time. He married Sarah, the widow of Oliver Shepard.

Beside these, there are at present pursuing the profession in Taunton, Doctors Barrows, King, Harris, Dean, Pratt, Hubbard, Adams, Bachelder, Bowen, Howe, Dickinson, Nichols.

There may be others, whose names have escaped our notice.

* The *first* apothecary shop ever opened in town was Mr. Daniel Brewer's, who came to Taunton from Danbury, Conn., in 1785, was once a minister, but subsequently embraced the views of Robert Sandeman, and with some others commenced a meeting of that description in town not far from that time. My authority for the above statement is Hon. Francis Baylies.

† Samuel Leonard, Esq., was a distinguished citizen of the town, in the last century. He is described on the slab which marks the place of his burial, as an "enterprising merchant." He died in 1807. One of his daughters, Mary B., married Thomas Bush. Besides the Doctor, two other sons are living. John B. Hopkins Leonard resides in Providence. Ezekiel B. Leonard lives in Taunton. The old "Leonard Place" is in "Hopewell"—magnificent in its ruins.

Secondly, The Profession of Law.

This has been ably represented in Taunton for more than one hundred years.

Hon. Samuel White,

a native of Braintree was probably the first Barrister at law, residing in the town of Taunton. He graduated at Harvard University in 1731,* and located in Taunton as a lawyer, about the time the courts began to be held there, that is, in 1745. He was a great grandson of Thomas White, early at Weymouth, whose son Joseph married September 19, 1660, Lydia Rogers, and was father of Samuel, born February 14, 1666, who married Ann Bingley, and was father of Hon. Samuel, born in 1710, and who died March 20, 1769, being in his 59th year. Anna, sister of Hon. Samuel White, was the first wife of William Wilde, whose only child, Daniel Wilde, married Anna Sumner, and was the father of Hon. Samuel S. Wilde, till recently on the Bench of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts.

Hon. Samuel White had the honor of presiding over the House of Representatives, during the period of the Stamp Act. It was the circular signed by him as Speaker of the House, which called together the first Congress that assembled at New-York in October, 1765. He may be considered therefore as one of the men, who exerted an important influence in the incipient steps toward the Revolution. The house which he built and occupied is yet standing, called the Bowen house, on the old road to the Weir. The following inscription is to be found on the monument which marks the place of his burial on "the Plain:"

* There were graduates of Harvard by the name of Samuel White in 1740, and '41, but in consideration of the date of his birth, I have chosen to consider 1731 the true time of his graduation.

"In memory
of
The Hon. Samuel White, Esq.,
Colonel
of
a foot regiment of Militia,
Barrister at law,
and
Member of the Hon. his Majesty's Council,
who
having been often delegated to the office of government,
faithfully served his God, his King, and his Country,
and exhibiting thro' an unspotted course of life,
the virtues of the patriot, the friend & the christian,
fell asleep in Jesus
March 20, MDCCLXIX,
in the LIX.
year of his age.
This humble stone, small tribute of their praise,
Lamented shade! thy weeping offspring raise.
Oh! while their footsteps haunt ye hallowed shrine,
May each fair branch shoot fertile as ye vine.
Not with thy dust, be here thy virtue's tomb,
But brightening still, each grace transplanted bloom;
Sire, sons and daughters share a like renown,
Applauding angels, a celestial crown."*

Hon. Robert Treat Paine, LL. D.,

deserves to be named next, as one of the Taunton lawyers. He was not a native of Taunton, but early removed hither, and oc-

* Madam Prudence White, widow of Hon. Samuel White, lies buried by his side. The following tribute to her memory is appended: "In early life, she was a firm believer in the Christian religion, and lived in the practice of its precepts. By her amiable disposition, she secured the esteem of all that knew her. With a conscience pure, and a constitution rendered excellent by temperance, and regularity, she reached the ninety-eighth year of her age, and relying on the mercy of her God, she calmly fell asleep in Jesus, June VIII., Anno Domini 1808."

cupied the house east of "the Green," which was afterwards the residence of Judge Fales, and more recently has been known as the Washington Hotel, on the site of which building, now in ruins, is soon to be erected a Banking House.

Graduated at Harvard University in 1749, Mr. Paine commenced the practice of law in this town, and became sufficiently eminent in his profession, to receive the appointment of Attorney General of the State, and subsequently that of Judge of the Supreme Court of the State. But it is the fact of his election as delegate to the Congress which published the "Declaration of American Independence," which renders his name illustrious and immortal. His wife was Sarah, sister of Hon. David Cobb of Taunton. They had eight children, four sons, and four daughters. Three of the sons, Robert Treat, Thomas and Charles, graduated at Harvard University and were educated for the Bar. Robert died in 1798 of the yellow fever, and Thomas took his name. The latter distinguished himself as a Poet, and writer for the Stage. He died in 1811, and his writings as Robert Treat Paine, Jr., were published by Joshua Belcher in 1812, in a volume of nearly five hundred pages. Charles was the father of Charles C. Paine, Esq., of Boston, who married a daughter of Hon. Charles Jackson, Judge of the Supreme Court from 1813 to 1824. Antoinette Paine married Dea. Samuel Greele of Boston. Another daughter, Mary, married Rev. Elisha Clapp, also of Boston. The honorary degree of LL. D. was conferred upon Mr. Paine by his alma mater, in 1805. His death occurred in 1814. Contemporary with Robert Treat Paine, was another, whose name is not unknown to fame—

Hon. Daniel Leonard.

He was the only child of Col. Ephraim Leonard, (by his first wife, Judith Perkins,) and was born in Norton, now Mansfield, in 1740. He graduated at Harvard University in 1760, and married, for his first wife, Anna, daughter of Hon. Samuel White. His second wife was Sarah Hammock. He was an

eminent man in his profession. He took a lively interest in political matters, wrote much for the press, first espousing the cause of his country, and strongly advocating Republican principles, but afterwards, as some one has said, through the influence of Gov. Hutchinson, becoming as decided a loyalist. Articles which he published in 1774 and '75, in a Boston paper, called "Draper's paper," defending the measures of the King, the Ministry and the Parliament, were pronounced the most plausible and ingenious defence made on either side of the water, and elicited a reply from John Adams in another paper under the signature of "Novanglus."

The sentiments of Mr. Leonard made him so unpopular in Taunton that he was obliged to leave the town and seek shelter in Boston. The house that he occupied is still standing next to the Court House, afterward the residence of Judge Padelford, and in it are to be detected marks of bullets with which the enraged multitude assailed it. He proceeded to Halifax in 1776, thence to England, where he received the appointment of Chief Justice of Bermuda. Having discharged the duties of this office for several years, he returned to London, and died there in 1829, at the advanced age of eighty-nine. He left no children, but four grandchildren, the children of his daughter Sarah, who married John Stewart, Esq., a captain in the British army and afterwards collector of the Port of Bermuda. These grandchildren, Mr. Baylies supposes, to be now living. One of them, Leonard Stewart, is a somewhat eminent physician in London. The eldest son, Duncan, on the death of an uncle, succeeded to a Lairdship in Scotland. A daughter, Emily, married a captain in the service of the East India Company. The other daughter, Sarah, married a Winslow, a descendant of Edward Winslow, an early Governor of Plymouth Colony, and was connected with Lord Lyndhurst, as private Secretary during his Chancellorship.

Hon. Seth Padelford, LL. D.*

was a native of Taunton, son of John and Jemima Padelford. He was graduated at Yale College in 1770, and honored with the Degree of LL. D., from Brown University in 1798. He married Rebecca, the daughter of Abraham Dennis, and sister of the wife of James Sproat, Esq.

Their children were as follows:

Mary Dennis, who married Mason Shaw, Esq., of Raynham; † Sarah Kerby, who married Nathaniel, son of Judge Fales; Melinda, who married Enoch Brown, Esq., of Abington; John, who died whilst a member of Brown University; ‡ Nancy, who married Samuel Edgar, son of Col. John Cooke, of Tiverton, R. I.; Harry, who married Susan, daughter of Robert Crossman, of Taunton; Rebecca Dennis, who married John G. Deane Esq., of Portland. There were also five other children who died young.

Mr. Padelford was Judge of Probate. He died Jan. 7th, 1810, aged 58 years and one month.

Some friend has caused this tribute to his memory, to be inscribed on the stone which covers his remains:

"For he was wise to know, and warm to praise, and strenuous to transcribe in human life the Mind Almighty."

Hon. Samuel Fales

was a native of Bristol, Rhode Island—the son of Nathaniel

* I find the name recorded on the catalogue of Yale College, as Paddleford. I have adopted the orthography which prevails in the family.

† This daughter published in 1834 "Familiar Letters" on subjects interesting to the minds and hearts of females, which exhibit a mind of uncommon excellence, and declare her to be equalled by few in the case and elegance of her epistolary writings. She is at present associated with a daughter in the charge of a Female Seminary in Germantown, Pennsylvania.

‡ Mrs. Cooke died October 25, 1817, aged 31. She is buried near her father. I transcribe the following memorial of her from the inscription on the stone: "Her loss was irreparable to eight surviving babes. And only in the conviction that her heart was renovated by the Holy Spirit, can her surviving friends find consolation.

Thro' nature's wreck—thro' vanquished agonies,
What gleams of joy! What more than human peace!"

and Sarah Fales—a graduate of Harvard University, in 1773. He married Sarah, daughter of Col. John Cooke, of Tiverton, Rhode Island. Their children were as follows:

Nathaniel, who married Sarah K. dau. of Judge Padelford.

Sally, who married Nathaniel Hazzard, of Newport.

Eliza, who married Dr. George Leonard, of Taunton.

Samuel, who married Sally, dau. of John West, of Taunton.

Harriet L., who married Hon. James L. Hodges of Taunton.

John, who died single; Almira, who married Samuel Niles Potter, of Rhode Island; Fanny, who married Rev. Swan L. Pomroy, now Secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Boston. Edward, who died single; Ann, who married (1) Samuel Learned, (2) —— Cutter, both of Bangor, Me. There were five others who died early in life.

Mr. Fales was for many years Clerk of the Courts, and at length appointed Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas. He was succeeded in the office of Clerk, by his eldest son, Nathaniel.

Judge Fales* died in Boston, Jan. 20, 1818, aged sixty-eight years. He was buried in Taunton, where you may find the following record concerning him, on "the Plain:"

"Useful and honorable activity distinguished the progress of his life. Having sustained for many years various important offices in the Legislative, Judicial, and Executive departments of the Government, with fidelity and honor, he died while attending his duties as a Councillor of this Commonwealth; and

* I have just received from Isaac P. Davis, Esq., a letter sent by Samuel Fales to Judge Davis, in 1816, containing the Inscription on Miss Poole's monument, and the following note: "I observed to you in Boston that this monument was erected on a small knoll, between the Green and the Meeting-house, a little distance from the road. A few years since, Dr. Swift, digging a cellar, found a part of a coffin, made of red cedar, under which were part of the bones, skull and hair of a human body, unconsumed by time, all which were carefully collected, and removed to the common burying ground, north of the Green, over which the stone was placed, bearing the Inscription transcribed for you. The monument is of slate, and was procured by ye late R. T. Paine, Esq., as agent for J. Borland, Esq."

though his tedious toils and hoary hairs seemed to demand a more peaceful succession of closing years, his friends are resigned and consoled in the hope of his resurrection to immortal blessedness."

Mrs. Sally, consort of Judge Fales, died Sept. 24, 1823, aged fifty-eight years. It is said of her: "Among the benevolent and liberal she ever shone conspicuous. The Christian spirit enlightened the path of her mortal pilgrimage, and at last sustain'd and bless'd her with its holy peace and inspiring hopes."

James Sproat, Esq.,

was the son of Ebenezer Sproat of Middleboro', who left seven children. James was born in 1758, Dec. 7th, and settled in Taunton.

He married Ann, daughter of Abraham Dennis — sister of the wife of Judge Padelford. Their children were as follows:

Rebecca Dennis, who married Alfred Baylies, M. D., of Taunton; Sarah, who died young; * Frances, who is yet living and resides in Taunton; Emily Ann, who died early; Ann Dennis, who married George B. Atwood, Esq., of Taunton; James, who married (1) Eliza Ann, daughter of George Baylies, (2) Lucretia, daughter of James Tisdale; William Alexis Frederic, who married Abby, daughter of Jonathan Ingell; Clarissa, who died early; Henry, who married Priscilla J., daughter of Jesse Smith; Adeline, who married Samuel B. Harris, of Smithfield, R. I.; Ellen, who died early; Theophilus Parsons, who married Mary A., daughter of Harry Baylies, of Dighton.

James Sproat, the father of the above, was a man of ready wit, and the most amusing mirthfulness. A single illustration, occurring in his professional life must suffice: David L. Barnes, Esq., was once addressing the Jury, when he had occasion to quote the following passage from Scripture, the address of Satan

* I have understood that this daughter of Mr. Sproat was one of the originators of the *first* Sabbath School in Taunton, of which Institution I hope to give a more particular account in a subsequent part of the volume.

to the Lord: "Skin for skin, yea, all that a man hath will he give for his life," adding in his ignorance of authorities, "saith our Savior." Sproat, in an instant, was on his feet, and turning to the Court, said, "He may be brother Barnes' Savior, but he is not mine."

The personal appearance of Mr. Sproat is said to have been very fine. There is a miniature likeness of him in the possession of one of the children, which has been unfortunately so far defaced, as to render an engraving for this work impracticable.

Mr. Sproat was uncommonly favored in his wife. She was a highly intellectual and accomplished woman. Her "Family Lectures," and various poetical works for children, which are now out of print, richly deserve a re-publication, that they may be as serviceable to the youth of this generation, as they were forty years ago to our fathers. In the preface to a copy of the "Family Lectures," printed in Boston by Samuel T. Armstrong in 1819, I find the following account of the origin of the "Lectures." "It has been my practice on the Sabbath, after public worship, to collect my family, and after attending to the Scriptures, read them one of the following essays, previously written for the purpose." The subjects she selected were the following: "The importance of Religion; Justice; Mercy; Humility; Temptations; Intemperance; Profaneness; a future life; Truth; Retrospection; Gratitude; Early Religion; View of the Divine Hand; The Death of a Connexion; Family discord; Reflections on the fall and recovery of man; Filial duty; The Sabbath; Reading the Scriptures; Acknowledgement; Address to a married daughter; Emptiness of Earthly pursuits; Prayer; Time; Future punishment; Resignation to God; Review of the past year; Three natures of man; Trust in God; Divine Goodness; Impressive Providence; Religion desirable; Unbelief; Deliverance from danger; Death of a public teacher; Plentiful season; Death of connexions; Advice to a new married couple; Gaming; The prodigal son; Advice to young men." These subjects are considered in forty-five well written and sensible lectures.

Hon. David Leonard Barnes, LL. D.*

was son of Rev. David Barnes, D. D., minister of Scituate, Mass., who married Rachel, daughter of Col. George Leonard, the son of Major, and Judge Leonard, an original settler and principal proprietor of Norton. Their son David married Joanna Russell, and practiced law in Taunton. He subsequently removed to Rhode Island, where he received the appointment of District Judge of the U. S. Court during the administration of Jefferson.

Nicholas Tillinghast, Esq.,

was the son of Nicholas and Mary Tillinghast of Providence. He received the Honorary Degree of Master of Arts from Brown University in 1793, and from Harvard University in 1807. Mr. Tillinghast was one of the eminent lawyers of Taunton in the early part of the present century. He married Betsey, daughter of Amos Maine Atwell, and had the following children:

Fanny, who died single in 1817.

Amos, who married Miss Jerould of Pawtucket.

Mary, who married Paschal Allen of Warren.

Susan, who died single.

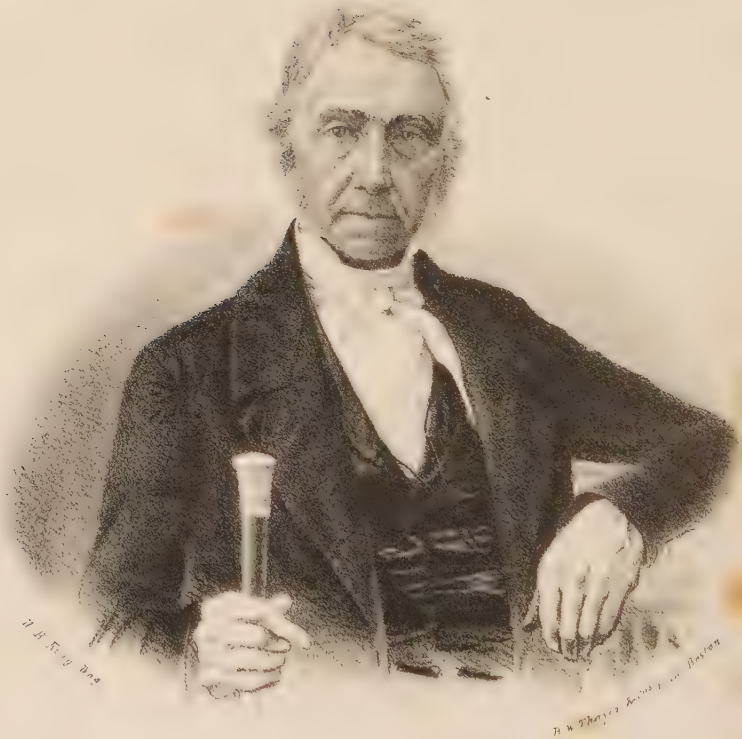
Joanna, who married Hon. Silas Shepard, of Taunton.

Elizabeth, who died single.

Nicholas, who married (1) Sophia, daughter of Rev. Mr. Ritchie, of Needham; (2) Ruby Potter of Dartmouth.

William, who died single.

* I have ventured to attach this title to Judge Barnes, (although I do not find it in the usual authorities,) on the authority of the following excellent legal anecdote in favor of short pleas, which I received from Judge Morton. An important case which had been long and ably argued by an ingenious and learned counsel of the opposite side, was once committed to the Jury by Nicholas Tillinghast, Esq., in this uncommonly brief, but conclusive style: "Gentlemen of the Jury: Doctor Padelford says as you have heard, and Doctor Barnes says as you have heard, but Doctor Mansfield says as you shall now hear,"—at the same time proceeding to read a single convincing contradictory statement from the noble Lord, "now when Doctors disagree, who shall decide?" The Jury gave him their verdict.



Marcus Morton.

Joseph, who married Cornelia Armington, of Pawtucket.

Ruth Phillips.

Mr. Tillinghast was born Jan. 24, 1767, and died April 24, 1818. His wife Betsey, was born Oct. 18, 1770, and died March 19, 1834. They are buried on "the Plain."

Their son Nicholas, is Principal of the Normal School, a State Institution, at Bridgewater.

Hon. John Mason Williams, LL. D.

the son of Brigadier General James Williams, graduated at Brown University in 1801, and commenced the practice of law in New-Bedford. He afterward located in Taunton, where he received the appointment of Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, of which Court he was Chief Justice for many years. Chief Justice Williams received the honorary degree of LL. D. from Brown University in 1843, from Harvard University in 1845. He now resides in Boston.

He married Eliza Otis, daughter of Hon. Lemuel Williams.*

Their children were :

Elizabeth, who married Hon. Horatio Pratt of Taunton.

Maria, who married Dr. Wm. A. Gordon, of New-Bedford.

Joseph Otis, who married Emily, daughter of Dr. Keenan of Lynnfield.

Two others died early.

The son practices law in Boston. Dr. Gordon for several years was located as a physician in Taunton. His father succeeded him, and died a year or two since.

Hon. Marcus Morton, LL. D.

was born in Freetown, in 1784, the son of Nathaniel, who married Mary Cary of Bridgewater. Mr. Morton graduated at Brown University in 1804, and commenced the practice of law in Taunton, in 1807. He represented the District in which he

* Hon. Lemuel Williams was the first Representative to Congress from his Congressional District.

lived, in Congress four years; has occupied a seat on the Bench of the Supreme Court of the State fifteen years, and has been thrice Governor of the Commonwealth. Once, in consequence of the death of Gov. Eustis in 1825, the duties of the Chief Magistrate devolved upon him as Lieutenant Governor. Again in 1840, and for the third time in 1843, he was invested with the highest office in the Commonwealth. He has also acted as Collector of the port of Boston four years. He received the Honorary degree of LL.D. from Brown University in 1826, and again from Harvard University in 1840. Gov. Morton married, in 1807, Charlotte, daughter of James Hodges of Taunton. They have had the following children:

Maria, who married William T. Hawes, of New-Bedford, a graduate of Brown University.

Lydia Mason, who married Rev. Henry Lee, D.D., formerly of Springfield, now of Rochester, N. Y.

Charlotte, who married Samuel Watson, Esq., of Nashville, Tennessee.

Sarah Cary, who married Willard Lovering, a manufacturer in Taunton.

Marcus, who married Abby, daughter of George Hoppin, of Providence.

Nathaniel, who married Harriet, only child of Hon. Francis Baylies.

James, who married Elizabeth, daughter of Hon. George Ashmun, of Springfield.

Frances Wood, who married Charles Henry French of Andover.

Susan Tillinghast and Emily Matilda. Two died young.

Three sons have graduated at Brown University — Marcus in 1838, Nathaniel in 1840 and James in 1843. The last two with the highest honors of the class.

Hon. Francis Baylies,

the son of William Baylies, M.D., and grandson of the Hon. Samuel White, the first Taunton lawyer, was born October 16,

1784, and commenced the practice of law in Taunton in 1810. He officiated as Register of Probate, (an office which his father filled before him,) seven years. He has been a Member of Congress six years, and during the administration of General Jackson, he received the appointment of a mission to Buenos Ayres. It is more particularly as a historian Mr. Baylies has distinguished himself. He is the well known author of the "Memoir of Plymouth Colony, in four parts and two volumes," besides many other historical and biographical articles, which have appeared either by themselves or in the leading publications of the day. He has one of the finest private libraries in the town or county, and an immense amount of MSS. on hand, touching the history of England and America which has never yet seen the light. There are probably few living, more intimately acquainted with the antiquities of this country than Mr. Baylies.

He married Elizabeth, widow of David Dagget Deming, Esq., of New-York city, daughter of Howard Moulton, Esq., of Troy, N. Y., and sister-in-law of General John Ellis Wool. Their only child is Harriet, born May 4, 1823, who married Nathaniel, son of Hon. Marcus Morton, Sept. 29, 1846.

Anselm Bassett, Esq.,

son of Thomas and Lydia Bassett, of Rochester, Mass., was born in 1784, and graduated at Brown University in 1803. He has practiced law in Taunton many years, and held the office, till recently, of Register of Probate. He married (1) Rosalinda, daughter of Abraham Hobaes of Rochester, Mass. (2) widow Lucy Smith of Troy, N. Y.

Three of their children are still living; two daughters, Cynthia and Elizabeth, and a son, Charles, who married (1) Emeline, daughter of John W. Seabury of Taunton, (2) Nancy L. Gibbs of Bridgewater, (3) Martha B. French of Pawtucket.

The son is Cashier of the Taunton Bank.

In addition to those who have been named, are others who

for a limited time pursued their profession in town, and should be briefly noticed. Such are Henry Goodwin, afterward Attorney General of Rhode Island; Welcome A., son of Tristam Burgess; Pliny Merrick, now Judge of the Court of Common Pleas; H. G. O. Colby, once Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, for some years District Attorney; George T. Davis, Member of Congress from the western part of the State; Theophilus Parsons, Professor of Law, at Cambridge. Judge Wilde was born* in Taunton, fitted for College with Rev. Mr. Judson, and after graduating at Dartmouth College in 1789, entered the office of Judge Barnes, and prepared himself for the practice of his profession in Maine, under the patronage, and with the warm friendship of Gen. Knox, where he received, during the administration of Gov. Strong, the appointment of Judge of the Supreme Court of this State, which office he held for an unusual length of time, and with the unabated respect and esteem of the Bar, and all other members of community. Seth Padelford Staples, an eminent lawyer of New-Haven and afterward of New-York, was also a native of Taunton.

The names of the members of the legal profession now practicing in town, so far as known to me, are as follows: Sydney Williams, son-in-law of President Messer; Henry Williams, who has once represented this District in Congress, and is now Register of Probate; Horatio Pratt, son-in-law of Judge Williams, who has been a member of the Massachusetts Senate, and is at present District Attorney; James Sproat, son of James, and Clerk of the Courts; William A. F. Sproat, also son of James Sproat; Nathaniel Morton, son of Judge Morton, and son-in-law of Hon. Francis Baylies; Chester Isham Reed, son of William Reed of Taunton, and Judge of the Police Court; Edmund H. Bennett, son of Judge Bennett of Vermont; Joseph Padelford Deane, son of Joseph G. Deane, Esq., of Portland, and grandson of Judge Padelford; James P. Ellis, son of

* The house in which the Judge was born is yet standing in the west part of the town, on the road to Oakland, nearly opposite the Episcopal glebe.

James Ellis, Esq.,† who is County Treasurer. Town Clerk and Assistant Justice of the Police Court; Horatio L. Danforth, a descendant of the fourth Taunton minister, and till recently High Sheriff of the County; Baälis Sanford; Samuel R. Townsend; John D. Austin.*

Note B. Page 184.

In Lillie's Historical Collections, relating to remarkable periods of the success of the Gospel, published in Glasgow in 1754, (pp. 281–82) we find the notice of a season of unusual religious interest in Taunton during the years 1704 and 1705. It is a reprint of what was originally published in 1743 in Prince's Christian History — a History "publish'd weekly," and "con-

† James Ellis, Esq., should be noticed in our account of Taunton lawyers. He was born in Franklin, Conn., May 23, 1769, and was son of Rev. John Ellis, a Chaplain in the Revolution, afterwards Pastor of the Congregational Church in Seekonk, (then Rehoboth.) James Ellis was a graduate of Brown University, in 1791, studied law in Providence with Judge Howell, and in Taunton with Judge Padelford. He opened an office in Rehoboth, (now Seekonk) where he had an extensive and lucrative practice. He was thrice chosen Senator from this County, previous to 1820; when he received the appointment of County Attorney, which occasioned his removal to Taunton, and which office he retained until the State was districted. Mr. Ellis married Martha, daughter of Joseph Bridgham of Seekonk, and sister of the late Hon. Samuel W. Bridgham of Providence. Their children were John, George, Horace, James P. Martha B., and Samuel B.

George Ellis resides in Madison County, New-York, and married Sophia Morse: James P. Ellis resides in Taunton, and married Caroline S., daughter of John Presbrey: Martha, the only daughter, a young lady of uncommon promise, died in Taunton, Nov. 24, 1828, aged 20; Samuel B., the youngest son, who was at that time a member of Dartmouth College, but, through grief at the loss of his sister, was led to abandon the idea of a professional life, is supposed to be somewhere at the West: John and Horace are not living. The father still survives, infirm and feeble, near the scene of his early life and labors in Seekonk.

*The preceding notice of the members of the Medical and Legal Professions must necessarily be very incomplete. There may be many important omissions, which a lenient community will overlook. I only hope, that some one who has time and talents for it, will undertake to write the history of these professions in town and do them more ample justice. If the imperfection of the preceding scanty sketch should lead to such a result, it will not have been in vain. It was judged not inappropriate to illustrate this note by the portraits of a few of the individuals to whom allusion has been made.

taining accounts of the propagation and revival of religion in England, Scotland and America." After noticing a revival of religion in New-England in 1679, "a second instance of some revival of religion in this country about the year 1705," is remarked upon, "which I find," says the compiler of the account, "in a book printed at London in 1706, entitled, a help to National Reformation, and in three manuscript letters of the Rev. Mr. Samuel Danforth of Taunton, a worthy son of the Rev. Mr. Danforth of Roxbury." A passage in the above named printed book, to which the writer refers, is as follows: "A gentleman writes from New-England, in his letter of the 29th of November, 1705: To gratify your desires to know what progress we make here in our Societies, I make bold to add a line or two to certify, that in Boston the societies for suppressing disorders (of which mention was made in my former letters) are upheld, and two other societies of the same nature erected. All which are spirited to be active, according to their abilities and influence, to promote virtue and discountenance and suppress vice. And not only in Boston are such good things done and doing, but in many places in the Province besides. Omitting many other things that might be enumerated as to other places, I shall sum up in short an account of what hath been done in a town called Taunton, through the rich mercy of God. The Rev. Mr. ——— * minister there, having seen some printed accounts of the methods for reformation in Old England, in imitation thereof (after earnest prayers to God for success) obtained of several inhabitants of the place (that were noted for sobriety and zeal against sin) to meet with him once in each month, to consult what might be done to promote a reformation of disorders there. And after a day improved in fasting and prayer together, they first attempted to induce the Heads of families to set up family worship; and God gave them great success; so that most of the families in the large towns hearkened to their exhortations and reproofs, and set upon the practice of family prayer morning and evening; every day having heard and read

* The Rev. Mr. Samuel Danforth.

some accounts of the religious societies of young men in London, they were encouraged to endeavor the like among them. And beyond their expectation, (God working with them) prevailed with the greatest part of the youth, to form themselves into societies for religious exercises, signing some good rules to be observed by them therein, much like the orders of the societies of young men in London. The good effect whereof was, the putting an end to and utter banishment of their former disorderly and profane meetings, to drink, &c., and to the great grief of godly minds."

The three manuscript letters* from the Rev. Mr. Danforth of Taunton are these :

"*Taunton, Feb. 20th,* 1704–5.†

SIR:—

We are much encouraged by an unusual & amazing Impression, made by God's Spirit on all sorts among us, especially on the young men & women. Its almost incredible how many visit me with discoveries of the extreme distress of mind they are in about their Spiritual condition. And the young Men instead of their merry meetings are now forming themselves into regular meetings for Prayer, repetition of Sermons, signing the same order, which I obtained some years ago a copy of from the Young Mens Meeting in the north of Boston. Some awful Deaths & amazing Providences have concur'd with the word preached to this good effect. The profanest among us seemed startled at the sudden change upon the rising generation. We need much prayer, that these Strivings of the Spirit may have a saving issue & effect. Our family meetings are more and more frequented. And two more family meetings setting up at two remote corners of our large Town, where we dispaired of seeing any. Our last Society which was yesterday had almost nothing to do, only to express their joy to each other, that the disorderly concourse of youth was now over. We are both,

* I have no means of determining to whom these letters were directed, but have supposed it probable, that Rev. Thomas Prince was the person, he having made use of them in the preparation of his narrative.

† For reason of double dating, see page 185 of this volume.

Church & all Inhabitants to renew the covenant for reformation* this Week, which this people made with God the last Philip Indian War. We agreed to turn our next Society Meeting into a fast also, for special reasons; one of which was that we find prayer our best weapon to reform vice, & the Devils kingdom cant stand before it; also as worldly men, when they find the world comes hovering in upon them, will pull the harder for it; which should make us pray more earnestly & fervently: having had encouragement so far, that when we can do nothing else but stretch our withered hands in Gods work, Yet even doing of that shall not be in vain. Some Remarkables in the progress of our reformation work, I shall not commit to writing, at present; but if common fame do not bring them to you, shall reserve them to be discovered by word of mouth. The Lord be with you all, Amen.

Yours intirely, S. D.

* Gov. Morton has loaned me a manuscript book, which once belonged to Mr. Asa Danforth, containing among other things this "Covenant for reformation, first engaged in the year 1676, and a second time renewed by the Inhabitants of Taunton, March 1, 1704–5." It cannot fail to interest those who may read these letters of Mr. Danforth.

"We the Inhabitants of Taunton, having a sense of the great displeasure of GOD against this whole land by stirring up the Heathen against us, and sending many other calamities upon us, Knowing that our Sins are the procuring cause of all these troubles, Do enter into solemn engagement (the LORD helping us by His grace, for of ourselves we have no sufficiency) to endeavour according to our several capacities, that there may be a real amendment and reformation in ourselves and those on whom we may have an influence, of those sins which are judged to have great influence in all the troubles of the land, such as general barrenness under the means of Grace, Neglect and contempt of the Gospel, Neutrality in Religion, Profanation of GOD'S holy Sabbath, indecent behaviour in the public worship of GOD, Decay of the power of Godliness, Contempt of the Magistracy and Ministry, Pride, Covetousness, Unrighteousness, Profaneness, Incorrigibleness under the Word of GOD, and under His rod, Abuse of GOD'S Mercies by Intemperance and other fruits of the flesh: Also, Idleness, neglect of Family Prayer, Unnecessary frequenting houses of Public Entertainment, Promise breaking and walking with Slanderers and reproachers of one another.

Acknowledging and Judging ourselves before the Lord that we have been any way accessory by participation or commission to any of these or other prevailing Sins of the Age and place wherein we live, beseeching the Lord to give us sincere repentance and remission of all our sins

Taunton, March 5th, 1704–5.

SIR :—

It was a most comfortable Day, the first of March, when we renewed the Reformation Covenant, of which I suppose you have a Copy by you already; only we added an engagement to reform idleness, unnecessary frequenting Houses of Public entertainment, irreverent behaviour in public Worship, Neglect of family prayer, Promise breaking & walking with slanderers, & Reproachers of others & that we should all in our families be subject to good orders & Governments. It was read to the brethren & sisters in the forenoon, they standing up as an outward sign of their inward consent to the rest of the inhabitants. In the afternoon, they standing up also when it was read, & then every one that stood up, brought his name ready writ in a paper & put it into the box that it might be put on Church Record. The forenoon text was, Hebrews 12 : 4, about resisting and striving against Sin, the common enemy of us all. The afternoon text was, 2 Chron. 29 : 10. We give liberty to all men & women kind, from sixteen years old & upwards to act with us: & had three Hundred Names given in to list under Christ against the sins of the times. The whole acted with such gravity & tears of good affection, as would affect an heart of

through the Blood of Christ, Do now Engage by GOD'S help to endeavour a suppression of open vice in ourselves and others, according to our capacities, and that our houses shall not be houses of resort for unlawful tippling or other disorders. And that the true Worship of GOD as practised by His people and owned of GOD in this Wilderness shall be upheld and maintained, and all within our families made subject to good order and government, Beseeching the LORD to enable us to keep that which is gone out of our mouth this day, that He may be our GOD, and may give us a place in His Tabernacle, and may do good to us and our Land."

All from 16 years old and upwards were invited to give their assent to this Covenant, and the outward sign of consent was by standing up while it was read, and then they gave in their names in writing into the Deacons Box, that they may be transcribed by the Pastor and affixed to the Covenant. Three hundred names were given in the first day. And it is read to others publicly on Sabbath days, when they can come forth to meeting. And some yield their assent to it in like solemn manner at family meetings, that cannot conveniently come at present to the Public Meeting House; and none to be omitted through the Town, but must be put upon it to say whether they will consent or dissent.

Stone. Parents weeping for Joy seeing their children give their Names to Christ. And we had several children of the church in Neighbouring Towns who came & joined with us in it. We have a Hundred more that will yet bind themselves in the Covenant, that were then detained from meeting. Let God have the glory. Yesterday fourteen were propounded to the Church, some for full Communion, others for Baptism, being adult Persons. All this calls for Prayer & humble walking with God, & hope in his mercy.

Yours, S. D.

Taunton, March 20th, 1704–5.

Sir:—

I have now yours, and have sent you two Letters this week. I have little to add and no time to Enlarge, but my time is spent in daily discourse with the young People, Visiting me with their doubts, fears & Agonies. Religion flourishes to Amazement and Admiration, that so we should be at once touched with Soul affliction, and this in all corners of the place, and that our late conversions should be attended with more than usual degrees of horror, and Satan permitted to wrestle with them by Extraordinary temptations and assaults and hours of Darkness. But I hope the deeper the wound the more sound may be the cure. I have little time to think of worldly matters, scarce time to study sermons as I used to do. But find God can bless mean preparations when ever He pleases, that such shall be most cryed up and Commended which I have had scarce time to methodise. I think some times that the time of the pouring out of the Spirit upon all Flesh may be at the Door. Lets be earnest in prayer that Christ's Kingdom may come, and that being an Instrument of good to others, I may not be myself cast away.

Yours, S. D.

Note C. Page 184.

When, a few weeks since, the Hon. Isaac P. Davis of Boston informed me that he had found among the papers of his

deceased brother, the late Judge Davis, a manuscript letter of Rev. Mr. Danforth of Taunton to Rev. Cotton Mather of Boston. it was an announcement no less welcome than it was unexpected. The ms. is now, through the kindness of Mr. Davis, in my possession.* It is very plainly written, and is in all respects highly creditable to its Reverend author. It is directed "to the Reverend Doctor Cotton Mather, in Boston, to be communicated to the Reverend Ministers in Boston."

Taunton, Aug. 8, 1720.

MUCH HONORED AND REVEREND FATHERS AND BRETHREN,

It is a singular favor of Heaven to our land, that the honored and reverend Ministers of Boston, as well by their influence on particular gentlemen that were of a public spirit, and by their influence on the several Churches under their pastoral care, and by their interceding with those whom GOD had placed over the land in civil power, as well as by their own personal exemplary bounty, have procured support to such as have preached the Gospel in the dark corners of our Province; and by their personal visits, as well as also by their written letters and sermons preached by them, some of which have been printed and gratis bestowed on them, have abundantly testified their sincere desires of the gospelizing those towns of Freetown, Tiverton, Dartmouth, and Nantucket; which towns being within the bounds of our Province, if this Province do not take care for their enjoyment of Gospel light and privileges, who will or can? We have reason also to be thankful to GOD, that the General Court, representing the whole body politic, have done considerably by their bounty out of the public treasury, as also by renewed acts and orders from year to year, for the bringing order into these towns, and for encouraging the preaching of the Gospel in them; and the Justices of Peace, in their stations, and in their public sessions, have from time to time acted laudably for the countenancing and promoting this good work. We

* It has also been in the hands of the Publishing Committee of the Mass. His. Society, and forms a part of the 1st vol. of the 4th series of their "Collections," just issued from the press.

have also cause to take notice of the good hand of our God working with us, in finding out and inclining the hearts of some worthy men to engage in the work of Christ in those difficult places: particularly that the Reverend Mr. Creaghead hath with heroical courage and patience so long continued in his post at Freetown; that the Reverend Mr. Hunt hath adventured to settle in one corner of Dartmouth; that Barrington hath made so much progress towards good order, and held out so long in supporting the preaching of the word among them, without help from others; and that others have been willing to take their turns, and to preach the Gospel for a time at Tiverton and Nantucket; that a Church is gathered in Dartmouth, and a Pastor ordained; that a small Church was formed in Freetown, though it is now weakened by the removal of some of its members into other towns. It is also our comfort that prayers are put up to God for the success of this work by pious men throughout the Province, whose inquiries from time to time how this work goes forward show how much they delight [in] and are refreshed by the progress of it: and doubtless these prayers will be heard and answered in God's time.

That we have met with obstructions and disappointments in pursuing this work, is no more than was expected by those who set it on foot; and God sees it needful it should be so, to maintain in us a daily sense of our sins which expose us to the frowns of Heaven even when we are engaged in most laudable enterprises; and to maintain in us an entire dependence on our Lord Jesus Christ for success in our essays for the enlargement of the bounds of His vineyard on earth; finding by our own experience that all our projections and essays of accomplishing any thing that is for the glory of God and the good of the souls of men will avail nothing, till the Lord Himself appear in His glory for the building up of Zion, and be pleased to work with us; and therefore to His name alone must be given the glory of every successful step taken in forwarding this His temple-work.

If any such thought should arise that we have taken pains enough already, and may now content ourselves with what hath

been done, and may now sit still and wait GOD's time for the settling the Gospel ministry and ordinances in those plantations; I humbly offer this thought in opposition to the former: that we have hitherto been waiting on GOD in the use of means, which did quiet our spirits, and our waiting was of the right sort. But can that be thought to be an acceptable waiting on GOD which gives over and ceases from the diligent use of means for obtaining the end desired? If we cannot think of other means and methods besides those we have made use of already, yet I hope we are capable of continuing a while longer in the use of the same means and methods which have been hitherto used. The Province cannot say that the disbursements out of the public treasury for the promoting this work have impoverished the public. The Christian assemblies that contributed to this work have no reason to think that they fare the worse for making that offering to the LORD. While this work hath been engaged in, we have enjoyed a considerable measure of health in our land, a considerable degree of peace in the civil state and in our churches; the heathens have been restrained from making insults on our frontiers; the earth has of late more plentifully yielded its increase to us; GOD hath wonderfully preserved the life of his Majesty, our sovereign lord, King George, to reign over us, whose reign hath hitherto been very comfortable to all true Protestants; and under him we have been favored with Governors (or chief leaders), one after another, who have countenanced us in our enjoyment of Gospel privileges; and at this present time have cause to bless GOD for our present Governor in chief,* who doth not discourage or weaken our religious interests, but under his administration such whose hearts are engaged for the promotion and propagation of religion are not made the underlings of the people, b[ut allowed to] use all lawful endeavors for promoting learning and religion, without being frowned [upon or] brow-beaten for their pains.

I make bold to add, that the difficulty of gospelizing th[e

* Samuel Shute, Esq., who arrived in 1714, and left the Province in 1723.

above] towns hath been of service, to make the government very careful that all new towns shall be provided with Gospel ministers at their first settlement. And though it hath exercised our patience to observe the slow progress of religion in these few dark corners of our land, yet God hath refreshed our spirits in the mean time by observing the great additions made to o[ur] churches, yea the multiplication of churches in our land, proportionably to the ener[gy] of the people. And as every stroke of Noah in building the Ark had a voice in it, so every step taken for the advancement of religion in these towns above mentioned is doctrinal to the observers of them. The young generation hath occasion given them to consider, what meaneth the often travelling of preachers to Tiverton and the other destitute towns? What moves the best sort of men in the land to be so forward to contribute to and promote this work, and that for such an ignorant and ill-bred people that will not give them thanks for it? This leads them to think of the worth of the souls of men, and of the need of a Gospel ministry to help forward the salvation of men's souls; and that, were it not for Gospel light, ministry, and ordinances, the towns we live in would soon become as ignorant, erroneous and vicious as those destitute towns now are.

We expect no other but Satan will show his rage against us for our endeavors to lessen his kingdom of darkness. He hath grievously afflicted me (by God's permission) by infatuating or bewitching three or four who live in a corner of my parish with Quaker notions, [who] now hold a separate meeting by themselves; yet such is God's great mercy that the rest of the ris[ing] generation do not fall in with their notions, but are becoming more studious to know the principles of true religion, and to arm themselves against false doctrine; and have set up eight young men's meeti[ngs] for religious exercises, which are upheld with good warm affection and seriousness. And having intelligence that great sums of money are distributed at Newport, at their ann[iver]sary Quaker meeting, which comes yearly from England, to which they add what they collect at their

quarterly meetings, for the rewarding their itinerant false teachers; it moves the people to be more forward than formerly for the upholding the true worship of God; and should convince us all of the great need there is to continue our care and endeavors to plant the Gospel and sound doctrine in these destitute towns, that are our frontiers, bordering upon or near to the place where Satan hath his throne, whence he sends forth his emissaries to make invasions on and inroads into our Province. Should not all ranks of men in the land in their several stations unite their forces, in resisting and opposing Satan, and weakening his kingdom of darkness and errors? I hope the reverend ministers in Boston, seeing they live in the metropolis of the land, where the General Courts are held, will once more take the pains [to] represent to the General Court at their next sessions the present need there is of passing such acts and orders as in their wisdom they judge sufficient, to encourage the continuance of the preaching of the Gospel in Freetown, Tiverton, Dartmouth, and Nantucket. Will not the adversaries of sound doctrine triumph, if we should give over this work? Will it not give them too much occasion to reproach the religion and doctrine which we profess? Will they not insinuate into men that we were in doubt whether our cause was good, else would not have deserted it? Will our Lord Jesus Christ take it well if we should faint, and despond, and cease from His work; and rebuke us, saying, O ye of little faith, wherefore did ye doubt of my presence with you, and my helping hand to support and succeed you in my work: and seeing I have by my Providence put these few destitute towns under the care of your Province, you must not neglect any means to prevent their perishing for want of vision.

What proposals are to be laid before the General Court in reference to each of those forenamed particular towns, I presume that yourselves do already know better than I do; or may easily know, by inquiring of such who favor sound doctrine in each of those places.

But having taken some pains with myself, to set my dull and

weakened spirits on work to indite this epistle, which I intended not to have been so long by half as it is, it is time for me to beg your pardon for my prolixity, and your prayers for me and mine, and to subscribe myself

Your most humble servant, and unworthy fellow-laborer in Christ's vineyard,

SAMUEL DANFORTH.

[The following is added as a postscript: —]

Since this letter was writ, a woman desires to partake with our church, who hath been in the country about three years, in Taunton about one year. She hath partook, as she saith, with the Church of England in London; but has no certificate of it from London. I conclude nothing will be objected against her conversation; her knowledge in the fundamentals of religion is competent, her discourse serious; but of the difference between Conformity and Non-conformity she understands but little, only has observed that we use not the sign of the cross in baptism, and kneel not at the LORD'S Supper; and finds no fault with our churches on those accounts. I desire advice what answer to make to her, and what to say to my church concerning her.

Yours,

S. D.

NOTE D. Page 184.

THE MS. Lecture of Rev. Mr. Danforth is called a "Taunton Lecture," and is dated "Dec. 4, 1707." It is founded on "Isaiah 26 : 11, — Lord, when Thy hand is lifted up, they will not see; but they shall see, and be ashamed for their envy at the people; yea, the fire of thine enemies shall devour them." It takes the form of an Exposition — and its chirography is painfully obscure. There is such a marked contrast between the legibility of the Lecture and the Letter, that whereas the latter was "to be communicated to the Reverend ministers in Boston," it is quite as obvious that the former was *not* to be communicated either to them or to anybody else. I have in vain brought some portions of it beneath the inspection of a magnifying glass, and have concluded to leave the whole on the

same shelf with the writing of the "Dighton Rock," as specimens of the Hieroglyphic art, for some future Champolion to decipher, interpret, and transmit to the ages to come.

Note E. Page 184.

The "Essay on Singing," was the joint production of the Taunton minister, his brother the Rev. John Danforth of Dorchester, and Rev. Peter Thacher of Milton. It treats of an important subject in the proper manner, and proves that the fourth minister of Taunton was not only a minister, lawyer and doctor, but a very good judge of singing. The Essay composes a part of a small duodecimo in the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society, which the Librarian assured me was worth an hundred dollars. It contains, in addition to "John Cotton's sermon preached in 1636 in Salem," but not printed till 1713 in Boston — several other articles on the subject of Church Music. For example, "An Essay to silence the outcry that has been made in some places against regular singing; in a sermon preach'd at Framingham, by Mr. Josiah Dwight, in 1725." Also, "The reasonableness of regular singing or singing by note, in an Essay to revive the true and ancient mode of singing Psalm Tunes, according to the pattern in our New-England Psalm books, the knowledge and practice of which is greatly decay'd in our congregations — writ by a minister of the Gospel," whom some one in the margin has ventured to call Thomas Symmes, D.D., "Perused by several ministers in the town and country, and published with approbation of all who have read it, in 1720." Also, "Utile dulci, or a Joco-serious dialogue concerning regular singing, calculated for a particular place where it was publicly had on Oct. 12, 1722, but may serve some other places in the same climate. By Tho's Symmes Philo:Musicus. Of all beasts there is none, saith Ælian, that is not delighted with harmony but only the ass." Published in 1723, and recommended by Tho's Blower of Beverly, Samuel Woodbury of York, John Rogers of Boxford, John Tufts of

Newbury, Thomas Foxcroft of Boston. Also, "a letter on the same subject to the elders and brethren of the Baptist churches in Rhode Island, Narahogansit, Providence, Swansey and branches dependent, in places adjacent, by Valentine Wightman of Groton,"—and finally "a sermon preach'd at the Lecture held in Boston, by the Society for promoting regular singing and for reforming the depravations and debasements our Psalmody labors under, in order to introduce the proper and true old way of singing—Inscribed to Paul Dudley, Esq.,—Published at desire of ministers who heard it, in 1722." From all which I infer that the subject of Sacred Music at that time was a topic of general interest and much discussion. It is gratifying to know that the minister of Taunton was a strenuous advocate of the best style of Church Music.

AN ESSAY

Preached by Several Ministers of the Gospel
For
The Satisfaction of their Pious and
Consciencious Brethren, as to
SUNDRY QUESTIONS and
Cases of Conscience,
Concerning

The Singing of Psalms,

In the Publick Worship of God, under the present Evangelical Constitution of the Church-State.
Offered to their Consideration in the Lord.

Printed at the Desire of Honorable, Reverend and Worthy Persons; to whom it was Communicated, in a Venerable Council of Churches, January 30, 1722–3.

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2 Cor. 13. 8, &c. We can do nothing against the Truth, but for the Truth.— We are glad when we are weak and ye are strong: and this also we wish, even your perfection. Therefore we write these things.

BOSTON:

Printed by *S. Kneeland* for *S. Gerrish*, and Sold at his Shop in Corn Hill. 1723.

Cases of Conscience

About Singing of Psalms,

Briefly Considered and Resolv'd.

Question 1.

Whether you do believe, that Singing of Psalms, Hims and Spiritual Songs, is an External Part of Divine Publick Worship to be Observed in and by the Assembly of God's People on the Lord's Days, as well as on other occasional Meetings of the Saints for the Worshipping of God ?

Answer :

The Ninety-fifth Psalm, which has a special Reference to Gospel-Times and Worship, begins with a Command to Sing unto the Lord. It was approved and practised by the Son of God, our Great Example, and by His Apostles ; it was one of the Last Parts of Worship, that he joined with them in, before his Death, and wherewith He closed the Administration of the Lord's Supper, (Mat. 26. 30.) His Institution whereof is to be observed by all His Churches to the End of the World ; and that on the First Day of the Week, Acts 20. 7. The Duty of the Singing of Psalms, the Apostle Paul Exhorts the Saints in Sundry Churches to practice, Eph. 5. 18, 19. Col. 3. 16. And Paul and Silas practised this Worship of God together, Acts 16. 25. And Singing of Psalms has been generally acknowledged by all the true Churches of Christ in all Ages as a

part of Instituted Worship: and the sweet and Harmonious Modulation of many Voices of God's Holy Worshippers together, in singing of God's solemn Praises, doth admirably help to excite and raise their affections in the holy Worship of God. And when the great Reformers had translated the Psalms into the several Languages of sundry Nations, and turned them into Metre, and People Sang them in grave and solemn Tunes, it greatly helped to Propagate the holy Protestant Religion, and did spread it wonderfully, and mightily promoted the Reformation: and God has vouchsafed to His Saints, much sweet communion with Himself in their Public as well as Private Singing of His Praises. These and other Arguments and Reasons (too many now to be recited) persuades us to believe that Singing of Psalms is an External Part of Divine Publick Worship, wherein we ought to Consecrate our sweet and melodious voices, together with our best Affections, to the Lord.

Quest. II. Whether you do believe that Singing in the Worship of God ought to be performed Skilfully?

Ans. Undoubtedly we believe that it ought (if possible) to be performed Skilfully. Irregular, Jarring, Disorderly Singing becomes not the House and Worship of God; where He deserves and requires that all things be performed decently and in order, 1 Cor. 14. 40. When we have a Male in our Flock, we should not offer unto Him, an inferiour thing, (Mal. 1. 14.) The best of Services becomes the Best of Beings. Unskilful Singing is indeed but improperly (as to the external part) called Singing, like as a Glass-Eye, is improperly called a Man's Eye, when it only fills up the proper place of the Eye, without any power of seeing. The moral of that Divine Command in Psal. 33. 3, is not extinguished by the Gospel Dispensation, but binds us in these Days. The words in the Hebrew Text, viz: *(Heitaibu nagen bith rugna)* are translated into Latin by the Learned and Accurate Arius Montanus, "*Benefacite Modulando in Jubilatione:*" that is, perform well, in Singing rightly, Skilfully, dexterously, Keeping time, number, and measure; aptly, with a sweet, tuneable, musical voice; pleasantly, in

your Rejoicing and Jubilizing; Sing skilfully, and with sweet modulation of voice.

Quest. III. Whether you believe that Skilfulness in Singing may ordinarily be gained in the Use of outward means, by the Blessing of God?

Ans. We believe it may, by most Persons. Skilfulness in Singing Psalms is an Acquired Gift: and many Thousands have attained it, by the Divine Blessing on their Reading and Hearing of the Rules of Singing, and minding & Conforming to the Voices of good Singers, and to their manner of Singing. Some have a natural Genius for it, more than Others; and some have a natural sweetness and strength of Voice above others: yet are there but few so deaf, dumb, weak & dull, as to be utterly unable to form variety of Sounds, and to distinguish of Tones and Tunes, and so to be incapacitated to receive Instruction for the musical and melodious Singing of Psalms. From the lowest and grummest sound of the Voice there are but three Septenarys or Classes of the gradual regular Ascents and Elevations of Voice; and not one Voice to a thousand but (falling within the Compass of some one of these Classes or Septenarys) may be brought to make sundry degrees of Ascent or Elevation therein; which is called the Raising of some Notes of Musick. We can meet with no voices of Men, Women or Children, but either they have the shrillness of the Treble; the hoarseness, grumness & lowness of the Bass; or are of the middling scantling of the Medius, or the Tenor. The Ascents of the Voice in the three Classes or Septenarys (called Keys or Cliffs) are in each of them so few and so parallel one to another, and harmonious, as that they may be quickly learned and distinguished. A Man will soon find (which is admirable to observe) that in trying to raise his Voice in each Septenary gradually ascending, there will be just the same proportion of difference of sound of the third from the second, as of the second from the first and lowest sound of the Voice; but that the fourth step of Ascent will be but just half so much and so from the fifth to the sixth; but the other distances of Ascent are Whole and Equal and this is soon Learned.

And the proper length of Time for the continuance of the sound of every Syllable in a Psalm-Tune is learned presently. The Fundamental Rules and Grounds of all Musick are but few, and all of them, Mathematically certain, and are for all Ages and Nations. And altho', as to the particular Tunes, the Variation is Wonderful; yet there's no English Psalm-Tune but may be soon Learned by such as have a good Instructor, and will bend their Minds to Learn and Practice it.

But tho' Singing is an acquired Gift, attained by learning the Rules, & by the help of an Artist in Musick; Yet 'tis supreamly of and from the Lord God. To Sing well is God's good gift. Every good gift is from the Father of Lights. This good Gift of God given to David, made him to become the Sweet Singer of Israel. He that has a good tuneable Voice, a good Musical Ear, and a Genius for Musick, has them from the Lord, and ought not to let those good Talents lie by Unimproved: They are to be faithfully and diligently Cultivated and Advanced and employed for the Glory of God, and Edification of a Man's self and others.

God bestows these choice Talents on Young Persons as well as on Elder Persons; and Persons in their Youth do learn the Art of Musick, with greater ease and speed than such as are Aged; and therefore should be encouraged to learn it while they are Young; and having obtained this Gift of God, by God's blessing on their industry and instructions, they are to be Allowed and Encouraged to Exercise it peaceably in Publick Assemblies, and thereby may be beneficial to others who may follow them in Singing of Psalms, to the Praise and Glory of God.

Quest. IV. Do you believe that it is Lawful and Laudable for Us to Change the Customary way of Singing, for a more Uniform and Regular Way of Singing of Psalms?

Ans. Forasmuch as in our late Customary Way of Singing, we have degenerated from the Right and Established Rules of Musical Singing; And many Congregations have Sung near one-third too long, and some syllables have been Quavering, as

in the singing of Mass; and in their Singing have borrowed and taken, some half a line, some a whole line, out of one tune and put it into another; and the singing of the same pretended Tunes in one Congregation, hath not been alike to the singing of them in another, and several Singers in the same Congregation have differed one from another in the turns and flourishes of the Tune which they have sung, and have been too discordant; and sometimes He that hath set the Tune has been forced to sing two or three lines, before the generality of the Congregation could know what Tune was set, so as to fall in with it: Nor are the Musical Counterparts set to the Tunes, as we sing the said Tunes, in the late Customary way, to make the Melody most Harmonious; And because Almighty God infinitely deserves that His Praises should be sung by Us in the best Way of Grave, Sweet, Heartravishing, and Uniform Singing in all our Churches, with joyful Lips. Therefore we believe that it is Lawful and Laudable for Us to change the late customary way of Singing for a more Uniform and Regular way: And we are far from believing that those Reverend Ministers, who have some of them in Print, others in their Sermons, and by their Practice, approved of Singing Regularly, and Recommended to the Churches a Reformation of their Psalmody by the proper Rules of Musick, we say, that we are far from believing that they are endeavoring to bring in any superstitious Ceremonies into the Churches, which our Fore-fathers came into this Wilderness to avoid: for we know them to be Pillars in our Churches and Chief Defenders of our Fathers way of Worship against Humane Inventions and Superstitions. Nor dare we be so Uncharitable to the Holy Churches of Boston, Roxbury, Dorchester, Cambridge, Taunton, Bridgewater, Charlestown, Ipswich, Newbury, Andover, Bradford, and other Places, who (we are told) Sing by Rule and Art, the high praises of God, as to suppose and say that they are in the least, inclining to Superstition; for then we should be guilty of wrongfully condemning, and so of offending the Generation of the Righteous: and certainly in Singing, and Worshipping of God thereby, Decently,

and in Order, and most Skilfully and Melodiously, according to the Rule of God's Holy Word, they are to be imitated, rather than condemned for it: and we ought to be as willing to receive Light from them, as to afford Light to them in any case whatsoever: especially in things referring to Divine Worship.

Quest. v. Do you believe that 'tis Lawful, and according to the Rules of God's Holy Word, that the Aged in the Churches should in their Age submit to be turned out of their Old Way of Singing of Psalms, to gratify the Younger Generation?

Ans. In yielding to the Regular way of Singing, we yield not to Men, but to God, the Author of all Regularity in Musick, and of all Decency and Order, who has commanded (as we observed before) that all things in His House be done decently & in Order. To the Younger People, who are Regular Singers, we therefore say, we do in this matter of Singing not yield unto You, but to God. The Younger Generation being the Majority for Numbers, and having clearest and strongest Organs of Voice for Singing, will prevail in carrying on the Musick in Singing of Psalms, every where from Generation to Generation; and the Elder and stronger in Grace are not to be offended at them for so doing. We that are strong ought to bear with it, and with them; & not be all for exalting and pleasing of ourselves, (Rom. 15. 1, 2. Rom. 12. 16.) and herein should condescend to them of low degree.

But withal, the Young Generation, such of them as can Sing Regularly, should be very Humble towards God & Men, and very Thankful to God; Avoiding all self-admiration, self-exaltation, vain ostentation and boasting, and all vile despisings of others; And should testify their thankfulness to God, for the gift of artful and orderly Singing, bestowed upon them by their Modest & Respectful carriage to their Fathers in Age, who are less able to Sing, & less capable of learning to sing Regularly and Harmoniously: tho', more able to sing Spiritually, and with Heavenly Understanding: and by no means should the Younger despise, deride, or speak contemptibly of the Elder. Nor should the Elder oppose the bringing of Regular Singing into our

Congegations out of Averseness unto the gratification of the Younger. The time is now come, when & wherein God is affording us more & better helps for right singing of Psalms, than for many Years we have had, and has stirred up many Young Ones to be willing to take pains to learn to sing by Rule; and where we discern that the set Time is come for the work of Reformation to go forward in any point, we ought to comply, and fall in with the blessed God in His Design and Work; and if thro' Age and want of strength we can't promote this Work in an Active way, yet we must not dare to oppose it, lest we be found fighters against God.'

Quest. VI. Is it not a Sin to Condemn any grave Psalm-Tunes, sung in any Christian Church, or forbid any Tunes in our New England Psalm-Book; unless for a time only, till a sufficient Number have learned to sing them, whom the rest may follow.

Ans. What things are sinless in themselves, and are lawfully used to Holy and Good Ends, cannot be condemned Lawfully & Righteously, as the Apostle Paul by inspiration abundantly declares unto us; and this is the very Case of all grave Melodious Psalm-Tunes, that are sung to the Glory of God in His Churches.

Quest. VII. Whether those who purposely sing a Tune different from that which is appointed by the Pastor or Elder to be sung, are not guilty of acting disorderly, and of taking God's name in vain also, by disturbing the Order of the Sanctuary?

Ans. The Holy Ghost having made Regular Pastors and Elders, the Overseers of the Churches, and the Teaching & Ordering of God's House, under the Great Lord of the Church belonging to them, (it being committed to them by the Lord,) such certainly act disorderly, and contemn the Authority of the Son of God, which those over them in the Lord, are invested withal, who when they order one Tune to be sung, will purposely sing another: and wilfully disturb the harmony of the Church in the Worship of God in singing, is a Prophanation.

Quest. VIII. Whether the Non-Communicants have any power or privilege of Voting about Singing in the Church, or may

overthrow the Vote of the Church by their Major Vote? is it not sufficient for them to give in their Reasons, to be weighed by Church or Council?

Ans. By our Platform of Church Discipline in New-England the Privilege of Voting with the Eldership, is confined to the Fraternity of the Church who are in full Communion and Partake of the Lord's Table; and 'tis our Wisdom and Interest to adhere to the fundamentals of our Congregational Establishment, according to the Word of God, and not to overthrow them.

Quest. IX. As for our longsome, Undulating, quavering, uncertain way of Singing, wherein we have taken some Notes of the Medius, & Bass, and put them into the Treble, and have taken sometimes the whole or part of a Line in one Tune, & put it to another, and wherein the several Congregations have differed one from another, whether we think it pleasing to Christ that we should make that way and mode of Singing (that we have fallen into) a Necessary Term of our Communion?

Ans. 1. We believe there is no more holiness in one Psalm-Tune than another: The Grave Tunes Sung in the French and Geneva Churches, & among the Dutch, Swiss, the Danes, the Swedes, and Protestant Palatines, and the Grecians, and the Tunes called Ainsworth's Tunes (formerly Sung in Plymouth Colony) are not more holy than ours, nor ours than them; we believe that London-New Tune, Gloucester Tune, Hackney-Tune, the Ten Commandments Tune, Standish-Tune, Westminster Tune, Peterborough-Tune, and sundry other Tunes, which very few of our Congregations do yet Sing publickly, are as serious and solemn Tunes as those that we do Sing, in many Congregations, in a sad broken manner. To imagine that the Tunes we have sung of late Years (and our manner of Singing them) are more holy in themselves than the other Tunes, and than the Regular manner of Singing them, is a Superstitious Opinion, and severely to be testified against. We may as well say, That our Meeting-House is an Holy Place, and that the Water used in Baptism is Holy-Water; and the Language wherein we read our

Bible, is an Holy Language. Which Tunes and Modes of Singing are in their own nature indifferent, and become Expedient only by Men's Choice and Use, we judge it unlawful to make them the necessary terms of Communion.

Ans. 2. We believe, that our Fore-Fathers never Separated from the Prelatical Church of England, because of their Psalm-Tunes, but retained and used the same in New-England, in their Publick Worship. But they found fault with the costly and superstitious Organs in Divine Service, as not having Warrant in the New-Testament Worship, which Harmonious Singing with the Voice has.

Quest. x. Do you think those Persons and Congregations Heard worthy who have Sung Psalms in the Common and Ordinary way?

Ans. 1. We believe that every Man is to Sing God's Praises, as well as he can, without making disturbance to others, and those who have done so, being true Believers in Christ, have been accepted of God through our Lord Jesus Christ. We can't believe that every Man ought generally to sing worse than He can, because every Man is to give His best to God: But a Man who sings very Meanly and with many Irregularities, is accepted of God, while he knows no better; but when He knows better, He should do better; and when he hath means afforded Him, more and better than ever He had before to teach Him to do better, it is His duty to Improve them humbly, diligently and thankfully; and still to labor to do better and better.

Ans. 2. We cannot but think that some of our Congregations have too much indulged themselves in Ignorance and Carelessness; while they have forgot, or never learned to distinguish one Tune from another by its Name; as to know which is Oxford Tune, and which is Windsor Tune, and so the rest; and that therefore it is high Time, to learn to know them by their Names; and that it is conducing thereunto to have the Tune Named before hand as well as the Psalm to be sung in it; that so People may know that there is a difference between one Tune & another, and may come by degrees to observe & keep that

difference, and may leave off being so disorderly, as to sing part of two or three Tunes, in singing four or eight Lines: For we have cause to be ashamed of the imperfection that has attended our Holy Singings.

Quæst. XI. What Convenience and Benefit would probably ensue upon it, if Mens voices were somewhat Lower'd in Singing (when otherwise very loud voices are ready to drown all other voices in a Congregation;) and what advantage would Ensue if all the Singers in a Congregation would keep time?

Ans. Were our Tedious Length of Singing (which is contrary to the Standard or Primitive Rule, and more like the Mass, than like our reformed English Musick) were it reformed and reduced unto the Length pointed out in the Musical Notes at the End of our Psalm Books; and were they who sing so Loud, as that they can hear no Bodies Voice but their own, reclaimed from that Absurdity.—this Great Good would follow upon it, That the Regular Singers, who Sing by Art, and those other Godly Singers who Sing after the manner they Learnt, by Imitation of others, who did not strictly keep to the Rules of Arts; May all of 'em (of both sorts of Singers) sing together, without so much jarring, and so the Regular way of Singing with an Even, Smooth and Straight Voice, and the Customary way of Singing with a more Undulating, Uneven and Quavering Voice, may both with less Inconvenience be practised at once, and be Sung peaceably together: as has been already proved in some Congregations: And until People can generally Learn to Sing by Rule and Musically, we should think it advisable, that such as cannot yet Sing Regularly, should Lower their [often too clamorous] voices, and be sure, study to keep time with those that Sing by Art, and then all may Sing together, and the variety of sundry Notes (being such Notes as are called Concord,) would go nigh to make a pleasing Harmony: And that Harmony of variety of Notes or Sounds in Concord, is the most solemn and ravishing Harmony in Singing of Psalms, and therefore most suitable for the serious and joyful Worship of God: And where this course has been taken, all sorts in the Congre-

gation have in less than a Twelve Months time, found themselves carried into almost One Way of Singing, to their Commendation, Comfort and Edification.

Quest. XII. May Persons of the Female Sex, be admitted to Sing in the Church?

Ans. Undoubtedly they may and ought. The Sister of Moses, with a vast Number of Women-Singers in the Congregation of Israel, sang the Praises of God in the Inspired Words of Moses. (Exod. 15. 1, 21.) In Judges 5. 1, we read, Then Sang Deborah; and in the Congregation of the Lord that came from Babylon, it's put upon Sacred Record that there were Two Hundred Singing Men and Singing Women. (Ezra 2. 65.) Tho' it seemed irksome to them to sing the Songs of the Lord in a strange Land. (Psalm 137. 4.) Yet they did not lose the Art of Singing them. At the Lord's Supper the Disciples with our Lord Sang an Hymn, (Mat. 26. 30.) Women were of the Number of those Saints, who belonged to the Primitive Gospel-Church, and continued in the Fellowship of the Apostles, in breaking of bread, that is the Lord's Supper; Singing therefore belonged to them, (Acts 1. 14, & 20. 42.) When they are Commanded to keep Silence in the Church, (1 Cor. 14. 34,) They are restrained from being Authoritative Teachers, as the next verse shews; but not from being Melodious Singers there: And how can they, which have the pleasantest Voices answer it to God, who gave them, if they don't improve them in a Musical Speaking together in Psalms and singing Spiritual Songs, not without Grace in their Hearts, Eph. 5. 19. Privileges are enlarged and not straitened under the Gospel; as for instance, with respect to the Initial Seal of the Covenant, which now they have, (Acts 16. 15,) but had not under the Law; and 'twas their Privilege to Sing Psalms under the Old Testament Dispensation, therefore much more under the New: It being still substantially Profitable, for the Glory of God and the good of His Handmaids, the Supreme Lawgiver of His Church has not thought fit to Repeal it.

Quest. XIII. May Noncommunicants, Yea, Unconverted Per-

sons, Old and Young, and Children also be allowed to Sing Psalms in our Churches?

Ans. Seeing Singing of Psalms is a Converting Ordinance as well as Edifying and Comforting, and Christ allowed Children to Come to Him, and Vindicated them when they Sang their Hosannas out of Psalm 118. 25. Therefore the Non-communicants, and the Unconverted, and Children also, may be allowed to attend this Ordinance and to join their Voices with the Church in Singing of Psalms, as well as Conjoin them in Hearing the Word Preached and in Prayers, so long as they behave themselves orderly and inoffensively.

Quest. XIV. How can that Possibly be a good way of Singing Psalms which a Considerable Number of Young People, so readily comply with; who (some of them) in Learning the Psalm Tunes, are too light and airy and vain?

Ans. Its certainly a Good Way notwithstanding. Had not the New Doctrines of the Reformation from Popery, the ready compliance of vast multitudes of Young People, and that by means of their Singing the Psalms translated into their Mother Tongue and put into Metre? and if some should be too vain in Learning the Holy Scriptures, is that a sufficient Reason for not Learning them? No, verily. These are trifling Objections.

Quest. XV. If some very Good People, who understand little of the true Rules of Singing of Psalms, are Offended at their Brethren and Children's Learning of, and Practicing according to those true Rules, is that a sufficient Reason for opposing, or neglecting, the Learning of 'em and the Using of them?

Ans. 1. They who understand little or nothing of the true Rules of Singing of Psalms, should surely labour after an Understanding, before they pretend to be judges of others, to Condemn them, and take Offence at them for that which they themselves cannot be the competent and lawful Judges of, except by the Information of others that are knowing, since they want knowledge and skill themselves.

Ans. 2. If Singing of Psalms by Rules of Music or by Note, is Practised, then some Godly People are offended; But if it

be not Practised. Other Godly People are Offended; and which of These their being Offended is to be minded most: and which ought to be Gratified? Ought not they to be gratify'd who have most Holy Scripture and Sound Reason on their side? and ought not they to conform to Regular Singing, who can easily do it, at least to follow others therein; But only don't Fancy it? Should not they strive to bring their fancy to Comply with right Reason? Must the Averseness of some Godly Brethren Hinder our peaceably prosecuting the necessary work of Reformation of our mode of Singing of Psalms? No indeed!

Ans. 3. Let those that take Offence, on both sides, be treated according to the Rules of Christ the Son of God, with all humility, meekness, gentleness, reverence, and with persuasive Arguments, and let the Reffformation of the way of Singing of Psalms be brought in gradually and Mildly if possible, and not with the noise of Axes and Hammers, in God's Temple. And let both Sides attend the Rules of Order for their Determination, and not be too Rash and Preposterous.

Ans. 4. Until the matter is Amicably agreed, Let not Him that sings the Common way judge Him that sings the Regular way, or by Musical Rules and Notes; and let not Him that sings the Regular way judge Him that sings the Common way, for the Lord hath received Him, (Rom. 14. 3, 4.) Only (as much as possible) keep regular time in Singing one with another and forbear offensive loudness, in Singing: and forbear all provoking Language & Carriage in Conversation, & Love one another with pure Hearts fervently.

Quest. XVI. Is it possible for Fathers of forty years old and upward, to learn to Sing by Rule? and ought they to attempt at that Age to Learn?

Ans. We are lately Credibly informed in Point, "that a far "Greater Number of People can learn to Sing, by Note or Rule, "than can ever learn the Common and Usual way. Many have "learnt to sing by Note, some upwards of Forty Years old, who "never could (tho' they were desirous of it) ever learn one "Tune in the usual way; and by this means, many who have

"so very harsh and untuneable Voices, as that it seems next to "impossible for 'em, to learn to sing one Tune, by frequent "using their voices in raising their Notes, may have 'em so al-"tered as that they may be Masters of what Tunes they please." An Old Custom may be altered, and a new Custom and Habit gained by frequent tryal and practice. Custom then is no sufficient Reason for the continuance of old Practices that need to be Reformed: And is our good Singing a Duty required of Us by Heaven? Surely then we are Obliged to use all agreeable means to qualify and enable Us to do the Duty required. No Difficulties (at least short of impossibilities) should hinder Duty.

Quest. XVII. What is it to Sing in and by the Spirit? and how may that Good Gift be obtained?

Ans. 1. In Singing in the Spirit, the Heart or Spirit of a Man goes with his Voice. His Heart closes with the Truths of God & Praises of God, the matter that is sung; while his Ears close with the sweet words & sounds of Lips. His Spirit sings as well as his vocal Breath, (Job 4. 24.) This internal must join with our external singing of Psalms, or we should be but as a sounding brass and a tinkling cymball. Therefore blessed Paul would have his Spirit sing as well as pray, (1 Cor. 14. 14, 15,) and he would sing in the Spirit, and with Understanding also. He means (as the Context there shews) to the Understanding of Others, vocally that so others might be advantaged and edified.

Ans. 2. Singing by the Spirit & from the Spirit is when Inherent Grace, or the Principal of Spiritual Life, is the Principle from which we sing Psalms. It is said (in Eph. 15. 18,) Be ye filled with the Spirit; Speaking to or among your selves in Psalms, &c., (ver. 19,) singing & making melody in your Hearts to the Lord: and in Col. 3. 16, In Psalms, Hymns and spiritual Songs, singing with Grace in your Hearts to the Lord. So then there must be Grace in the Heart (which is called the Spirit in opposition to the carnal Principle which is called the Flesh;) & this Grace in the heart devotes Men to

the Lord. Some sing Psalms from a Principle of carnal Nature; some possibly from Vice; some from Hypocrisy; some from common Grace, and an enlightened Conscience, that receives the Word with Joy. But Oh! how few do sing unto the Lord from a saving Principle of Devotion to the Lord. Most Men as they Eat and Drink to themselves, and not for the Lord, so they Sing from themselves & to themselves; In Singing, carnal self is the moving Principle they act from, and the last end they sing for, even to please themselves & get honour to themselves from others, and not to please God through the Lord-Mediator, Jesus Christ.

Ans. 3. Singing in the Spirit imports and implies the acting and exercise of Grace in Singing of Psalms, the fervency of it; the up-flamings of it towards Heaven in the Devotion of superlative Love to God and Delight in God, and Praises to God and the Lord Jesus Christ, and joy in the Holy Ghost. Christians should be fill'd with the Spirit, with full measure of Grace, running over, and streaming forth in Spiritual Singing to the Lord, and in giving Thanks to God the Father for all things, in the Name of the Lord Jesus Christ, Eph. 5. 18-20. In Singing of Psalms there should be a vigorous Activity of inherent Grace, (the Gracious Spirit,) a fervency of Spirit in serving the Lord, in Singing of His Praises.

Ans. 4. Singing by the Spirit, (like Praying in the Holy Ghost,) doth imply in it a Singing by the Aid and influences of the Eternal Spirit. Under those special assisting, sanctifying and comforting Influences the effectual Prayer of a Saint is called *Αειρις Ἐνεργουμένη* the Man being acted by the Spirit of God therein, and such a Prayer avails much, Sam. 5. 16. And by the same Divine Influences, His holy Singing of Psalms assisted will avail much, Psal. 149. 5, 9; 2 Chro. 20. 20, 22.

Now to obtain this Good Gift of Singing by the Spirit, We must earnestly and most humbly Ask it of God thro' Jesus Christ, who gives it liberally and Upbraideth not. This Good Gift comes from the Father of Lights. And that our Hearts may be prepared to Ask aright, we may do well,

1. To Consider, That the Good God, who as the God of Nature has made the Hearing Ear, has given to Mankind a delight in Sweet Sounds and voices of Melody, and by means of the Exhilerating of the Animal Spirits thereby the Rational Soul that is in Union with them is delighted therewith; and that this is a good Gift, and the Lord ought to be praised and glorified for it.

2. To Consider, that this Good Gift is given for this Great and Main End, that in the Use and Enjoyment of it we should Please and Glorify the Lord our God and Delight ourselves Supremely in Him, and not center in ourselves as our God, or mainly aim to delight & please our selves therewith.

3. To Consider, and be convinced of it, and lay it deeply to Heart that by our Rebellion in Adam, and by the depravedness of our Hearts, we are at Enmity with God, and will not have Him to be our absolute Lord, our Last End and Chief Good, but set up our carnal selves in God's stead, and supremely aim to please our selves, and not to please God: and so we are fallen under his wrath and Curse.

4. To Consider, that God the Son Incarnate has dyed and satisfied Divine Justice for us, and become the Mediator of our Peace, and that our wretched Souls are taken into His Gracious Hospital (His Church) under His Care and Cure, and 'tis possible that they may be recovered to the Divine Favour, and Image, and Life, & to the Communion of God by him.

5. To Consider that of our selves, by our own mere strength, we can't repent & turn to God, and can't believe in Christ, and if God by His Mighty Power don't make us to Repent and Believe, and change our Hearts in us, we perish. Therefore we must cry mightily to God to pity us, and to change our Hearts, and to give us Faith and Repentance, and in Obedience to God's Command, hoping in Him for His Almighty Help, we must try and do our utmost Endeavour to Repent and Believe, still using and improving the Means and Ordinances that God has Appointed for our Help.

6. In Singing of Psalms we must endeavour to Sing to the

Lord, looking up unto, and Trusting in God the Holy Ghost, for His Influences to Irradiate, Elevate, Invigorate, and Fix our Hearts, that so from our own Experience we may be able to say in Truth as the Holy Psalmist, Our Hearts are Fixed, O, God; We will Sing and give Praise.

PETER THACHER,
JOHN DANFORTH,
SAMUEL DANFORTH.

NOTE F. Page 186.

IT is not surprising the minister of Dorchester, a brother of the deceased should have made this brief entry on the Records of an affiliated church. Nor is this the only memorial that brother has left us of the fourth Taunton minister. Appended to "a sermon occasioned by the late great earthquake, and the terrors that attended it, prepared for and (in part) delivered at a fast in Dorchester, Nov. 7, 1727, By John Danforth, M. A., Pastor of the church there," is a tribute of warm fraternal affection in verse, which proves that the poetical element in the father was not extinct in the son. It is a marked coincidence that the two ministers associated with John Danforth in the preparation of the article on "Singing in Churches," included in this volume, died the same year, and within a month's time of each other. "Lovely and pleasant were they in their lives, and in their deaths they were not divided." "Two vast Enjoyments commemorated, and two great Bereavements lamented, in two excellent Persons, viz: the Rev. Mr. Peter Thacher, Pastor of the Church of Christ in Milton, who was born into this World July 18, Anno Domini 1651, and ascended to a better World, Dec. 17, A. D. 1727, Ætatis 77, and in the 47th of his Pastorate. And the Rev. Mr. Samuel Danforth, Pastor of the Church of Christ in Taunton, whose Nativity was Dec. 18, A. D. 1666, and his Translation to the Heavenly Paradise, Nov. 14, A. D. 1727, Fifteen Days after the first Shock of the great Earthquake in New-England.

What! without Feeling? Don't we make Pretense,
In some Degree, unto that vital Sense?
Dumb too! And would be press'd to Death as Mutes?
Angels use speaking arts; but rarely Brutes.

Lisp we no Ecchoes to the dismal Sound,
From Caverns, and Convulsions under Ground?
To th' Peals from the charg'd Chambers of the Skies?
To th' Voice from Temples of the Lord most High?

To th' Shrieks from the bereav'd Britannick Throne,
And Realms, Great George's Death, that loudly groan?
When Warning-Pieces great are fired and shot;
When shook, and struck, and call'd, answer we not?

Blind Eyes, deaf Ears, hard Hearts bind fast the Tongue.
What frightful maladies upon us throng?
O Son of David, mercy on us shew!
Restore our Souls! our spiritual Sense renew!
From Blindness, Deafness, Hardness, instantly
Lord! if Thou wilt, Thou can'st our Souls set free.

We 'll then with Thanks review Enjoyments past,
For poor Improvements we will be abas'd
Our late Bereavements we will lay to Heart;
But most of all, God's Wrath, and our Desert.

We long enjoy'd a Sky, that did refrain;
An Earth, that Terra Firma did remain;
And not Infirma, but a quiet Seat,
Groan'd not so loud, to make our Hearts to beat.

Long were we bless'd with George's Influence,
By whom God gave us great Deliverance.
Th' ascended Lord long favour'd us with Lights,
To shine vile Rebels into Favourites.
The Council-Board, the Bench, the sacred Desk
Long shone with Heroes, who are now at Rest.
Christ's two last aged Shepherds tarried long,
His dear (but now bereaved) Flocks among.

View their paternal and maternal Lines.
Both of them sprang from many great Divines,
Honour'd in England and New-England too,
For service they for Christ and 's church did do.

Angels, per Saltum, took their high Degree,
Commencing Spirits, from non-Entity.
These angels of our churches, Babes first were;

How excellent the mothers that them bare!
Again they, both were New-Born of the Spirit;
And both great double-Portions did inherit,
Of the rare Spirit of the bless'd Elijahs,
Whose mantles fell to these good young Abijahs.

What Man (since miracles are ceas'd) e'er gains,
Without the Teacher's and the Learner's Pains,
And th' Blessing upon both from God most High,
Sufficient knowledge in the mystery
Of Arts, of Languages, and of Religion,
To qualify for the Prophetick Vision?

God bless'd the Pains, (bless'd be His glorious Name!)
To both of these, that quickly they became
(Like well-taught Pegasus) thorow-pac'd,
Before they were with College-Laurels grac'd.

Their Temper far from Injucundity;
Their Tongues and Pen from Infecundity,
Solid, and Grave, yet pleasant they were each,
Lest any should of Stanch'dness them impeach.

In Med'cine, and in civil Laws, well read
Were Luke and Zenas; for their Neighbour's need,
Each, on occasion. might few minutes lend,
To advise a sick or an exposed Friend:
Both these our Pastors very skilful were,
Like Luke the one, th' other like Zenas rare.
Their Usefulness thence flowing, by the by,
How full of Piety and Charity!
All to their office-work subordinated;
A Work unrivall'd, not to be check-mated;
A Work, upon the Wheels forever going;
A Work, (whatever else was done) still doing.
A Work, for which they left no stone unturn'd,
A Work, for which the Indian-Tongue they learn'd.
Th' Indians in their own Language had their Lectures,
All full of Christ, and Grace, and Heavenly Nectars.
But th' English mainly had their Pains and Care,
To th' English they were Angels Tutelar.
High in Employments, but not high in Pride,
Their High-Employer was their Guard and Guide.

To batter sin they mighty were: For Zeal
Chariots and Horsemen of our Israel.
Their churches were by them (as Bulwarks strong)

From vice (thank the Most High) defended long.
While the Resistless Sword was in their Hand,
Agags were hewn to Pieces in their Land.
'Gainst Sin did Lions in God's Cause appear,
But in their own, they Lambs for Meekness were.

They left a sacred Stamp where'er they trod;
Their Lives-Right-Steps shew'd Men the way to God:
They both were to their Flocks unblotted Paterns:
And of all Godliness and Virtue Patrons.

Shepherds they were, who right the Sheep did guide;
And who seducing Wolves could not abide,
Both wrought *with* God, and wrought by Faith and Prayer,
Both wrought *for* God, and were His tender care.

Both many thousand sacred Sermons preach'd,
That th' Ears and Hearts of many hundreds reach'd,
Most bounteously God answered their Desire,
Hard Hearts would melt by their seraphic Fire.

Their Prayers and Propheeyings (by Heav'n's Might)
Rais'd up dead Souls, restor'd the Blind to sight.
Right noble Wisdom thus each of 'em had,
Wise to win Souls, to make their Savior glad.

Careful they were Christ's Sheep should never feed
On Arian, Popish, or Arminian weed;
Careful lest worldly Lusts should hot pursue 'em,
Bad Company and Pleasures should undo 'em;
Careful to bring 'em from Destructive Things,
To the safe Shelter of bless'd Jesus' Wings.

For Foresight, and good Forecast, few their Match;
Were ever on their Guard, and on their Watch.
Both Men and Things they studied well and knew;
Their Bow they seldom at Adventure drew.
In Councils frequent and in Travels oft,
Success (like joyful Streamers) seen aloft.
But I omit whole volumes yet behind;
So great Enjoyments tell us God is kind.
Lustres of Years (though fit for Heaven) they stood,
By Christ continued, for His Churches good.
Their precious useful memory remains,
For wise Improvers everlasting Gains,
Who gain'd no Gold by those Aurifick Stones,
Have Reason now to make their doleful Moans.

Our Loss in their Remove is far from small,
Who were such copious Blessings unto all.

May Heaven that takes our Treasures, make Retrievements!
Else Bankrupts are undone by such Bereavements.
Levi'thans they, who do not, (for their Part)
The Wounding-Warnings duely lay to heart.
Portended Ills prevent! most Gracious God!
Make all take warning by Thy Speaking Rod!
Bereaved Families, and Flocks with Tears,
Ask tender Sympathy, and fervent Prayers;
May Heav'n's kind Ears receive their Lamentations!
Give, Lord! their weakened Hearts strong consolation!

Amen.

Ita humillime precatur.

J. D.

CHAPTER VI.

REV. THOMAS CLAP,* THE FIFTH MINISTER OF TAUNTON.

THE compiler of this work has received so full and satisfactory a notice of the Clap family, from Rev. Mr. Wight of Scituate, that little comparatively is left for him to do. The communication is presented entire, with the addition of a few notes.

North Scituate, Feb. 16, 1852.

"REV. S. HOPKINS EMERY,

DEAR BROTHER:—Your letter of inquiry, respecting Rev. Thomas Clapp of Taunton, born in Scituate, after some delay through a neighboring post office, was received on the 9th inst. I have made somewhat careful inquiry, and am now prepared to report. It is a pleasing coincidence, perhaps worthy to be mentioned, that having a manuscript volume of his sermons in my possession, of some three to four hundred pages, quite a curiosity, I had been inquiring into his history and ancestry, on a visit at one of his descendants, a parishioner of mine, not three weeks previous to the date of your letter, and had already recorded several facts of interest in said volume. I am therefore the more interested and better prepared to reply to your inquiries.

* I have given the name as Mr. Clap generally wrote it, although more modern usage makes it "Clapp."

Rev. Thomas Clapp, settled as the fifth pastor of the first church in Taunton, 1729, was a son of *John Clapp*, born 1677, who was a son of Samuel, born probably about 1645, (or between 1640 and 1656,) who was the son of *Thomas*, born in Dorchester, England, 1597.

This first Thomas Clapp came to New-England with the early settlers of Dorchester, Mass., (1630,) where his brothers John, Richard and Ambrose tarried. Thomas proceeded to Weymouth, where he resided till 1640, when he removed to Scituate. His *farm* was on the north-west of the Stockbridge Mill-Pond, near which lies the scene of 'the Old Oaken Bucket,' a famous Temperance ode, by Samuel Woodworth, a native of Scituate. The first son of Thomas Clapp, was Thomas, born in Weymouth, 1639. His other children, born in Scituate, were Eleazer, *Samuel* Elizabeth, Prudence, John, born 1658, and Abigail, born 1659. In 1647, he was a Deacon in the first church in Scituate, and is spoken of as 'an active, useful and venerable man.'

From *Samuel* descended the distinguished family of Clapps in this vicinity. He succeeded to his father's residence, and married Hannah Gill of Hingham, 1666. His children were Samuel, born 1667, Joseph, Dea. Stephen, born 1670, Hannah, Bethia, Lieut. *John*, born 1677, Abigail, David, Deborah, and Jane, born 1689.

The most distinguished son of Dea. Stephen was *Thomas*, born 1703. This Thomas graduated at Harvard College 1722, was ordained at Windham, Connecticut, 1726; chosen President of Yale College, 1740, in which office he continued till 1764, when he resigned, and on a visit at Scituate, 1765, he deceased. The historian of Scituate says: 'President Stiles, his successor, speaks of him as

standing in the first ranks of the learned men of his age. He studied the higher branches of Mathematics, and was one of the first Philosophers America has produced, and equalled by no man, except the most learned Professor Winthrop. As a Theologian also, he is equally praised. As a President, most indefatigable and successful in promoting the interests of learning, and raising the rank of his college.' He wrote a history of Yale College, and many pamphlets in defence of the New-England churches.

Lieut. *John*, brother of Dea. Stephen, married Hannah Gill, (his cousin,) 1702, and lived on the present Clapp farm, a short distance east of the Stockbridge Mill-Pond. He had two sons, THOMAS, born November 11, 1705, and John, described as 'a lovely and desirable youth,' who was killed instantly, October 13, 1722, aged sixteen years. He was killed near his father's house, by the tongue of a cart falling on his neck. A handbill, containing some very quaint lines to his 'memory,' headed by an engraved design, still more quaint, is still in existence.

Rev. Thomas Clapp, born November 11, 1705, graduated at Harvard College, 1725, and settled in Taunton, 1729. He was married to Mary Leonard, daughter of Judge George Leonard,* of Norton, September 9, 1731.†

* Judge George Leonard was a distinguished character in his day. He was son of Thomas, who was Major, Physician, Judge, Town Clerk, and Deacon. George, removing to that part of Taunton, now called Norton, in 1690, became the principal proprietor of its lands, and (according to the declaration of William R. Deane, and others,) "lived in baronial style." He was Major and Judge as well as his father. His eldest son, George, was Colonel and Judge. And *his* son again, who also bore the name of George, and married a daughter of Hon. Samuel White, was a Representative to Congress, and afterwards Judge.

† The following was transcribed from the Norton Records, by Mr. E. H. Reed. "Sept. 9, 1731. Mr. Thomas Clap of Taunton, and Mrs. Mary Lane of Norton, were married by Mr. Joseph Avery." From which it appears that his wife, a daughter of Judge Leonard, had been once married to Mr. Lane.

While in Taunton, he had three children, viz: John, born July 14, 1733; Thomas, born June 22, 1736; and Mary, born Lord's day, November 19, 1738. He was dismissed, and returned to the paternal estate in Scituate, the same year, 1738. One of his descendants informs me, 'he left his parish, on account of some trouble in collecting his salary.' His people said, they would never settle another rich man.' After returning to Scituate, he built a new house, 1740, on the paternal estate, in which his grandson still resides, 1852. February 27, 1740, he had another son born, Calvin, who died January 8, 1741.

* There is a manuscript book in my possession which came originally from Scituate, containing a record of Mr. Clap's official acts as Justice of the Peace, in that place, and some few of the church proceedings, before his dismission from Taunton. The concern of the church for their minister's temporal interest, and strong desire that he should receive his just due, are clearly indicated by their recorded acts. However the town or parish may have felt, I am persuaded the church, as a body, were guiltless in this matter. For thus they resolved.

"At a church meeting at the house of Mr. Benjamin Wilbore, in Taunton, on Friday, Jan. 6, 1737.

"The church taking into consideration the vote of the Town for Mr. Clapp's salary and his present allowance, do find that since the value of our paper currency is fallen, he has not had his salary, according to the vote of the town, and do esteem it our duty to endeavor that justice may be done in that matter, and that we might know what is just in the affair. Voted, That the Hon. Seth Williams, Capt. Joseph Tisdale, Mr. Nathaniel Crossman, Mr. William Hodges, 2d., Mr. Benjamin Wilbore, Mr. Israel Dean and Mr. Edmond Andrews be a committee to endeavor, as soon as possibly they can, to get a true and perfect knowledge of the value of money that year Mr Clapp settled with us in the work of the ministry, and of every year since, to this time, and make a fair, just and honest computation, according to the best of their understanding, what Mr. Clapp's salary ought in justice to be, so that it may be just as good to him now as when it was voted; to make their report to this church at the adjournment of this meeting.

"Voted, That if the Selectmen of the Town should refuse to call a town meeting upon the application this church hath made to them, that then the Hon. Seth Williams, Capt. Joseph Tisdale, Mr. Nathaniel Crossman, Mr. William Hodges, 2d., Mr. Benjamin Wilbore, Mr. Israel Dean and Mr. Edmond Andrews be, and are hereby requested immediately upon their refusal, to take the proper steps in the law, in order to obtain a town meeting on the affairs specified and set forth in said application."

His wife, Mary Leonard, died of measles, June 27, 1741, aged twenty-seven years, five months and ten days. She was not buried in Scituate, but was carried either to Taunton or Norton, where her family resided. A letter of sympathy, addressed to him on this occasion, is still extant in Ms. dated 'Waltham, July 14, 1741,' and signed, 'your affectionate and sympathizing Brother and humble servant, Warham Williams,' then pastor of the first church in that place.

He married, for his second wife, Esther Chandler, daughter of Hon. John Chandler, of Worcester, May 9, 1745. He was one of the 'slaveholders' of that day, and had quite a number of slaves, which he promised to liberate on his marriage to his second wife, she having objected to the marriage, unless he would promise their liberty. For some reason, however, they were not liberated till after his death. He had one female slave, the mother of many sons, who were reared up in his house, the marks and scratches of their fingers remaining on the walls of the chambers to this day.

By his second wife, he had five children, viz: Hannah, born October 24, 1746, died January 9, 1840, aged ninety-three years; Calvin, born October 28, 1747, died December 4, 1752, aged three years, twenty-six days; Augustus, born March 28, 1752, Post Master from 1805 to 1827, died February 2, 1827, aged seventy-five years; Chandler, born December 28, 1754, a justice of the peace, and also post-master, died December 25, 1832, aged seventy-eight years, and Rufus, born January 24, 1759, died June 8, 1834, aged seventy-five years. These five children all died unmarried. Thomas, the second son, by the first wife, born 1736, was an officer in the 44th regi-

ment of the British Army, and died unmarried at Ross Castle, Ireland, August 4th, 1770, aged thirty-four years. His sister, Mary, also, died unmarried, December 6, 1829, aged ninety-one years and nineteen days. She is represented as 'a remarkably accomplished woman.'

John Clapp, the first born, and only child of Rev. Thomas Clapp, that married, born in Taunton, 1733, was married to Jerusha Bailey, 1752, and had the following children, viz: Mary, Ruth, John, Nancy, Esther, *Leonard*, born 1766, and Hannah, born 1768. These all married, except John, who died in early youth. *Leonard* married Elizabeth Stetson, November 28, 1797, and had twelve children, eight of whom, with the parents, thirty-six grandchildren, and one great-grandchild, are still living; the father in his eighty-sixth year, residing on the paternal estate of Rev. Thomas. The other grand-children, who were married left posterity.*

After Rev. Thomas Clapp left Taunton, he was not again settled in the ministry, but lived as a lay member of society, filling however, several important offices of trust. He was colonel of the Militia, justice of the peace, for many years a Representative of the town, and also a judge of Plymouth County. He was taken sick with the Palsy, while presiding on the bench as Judge in Plymouth court. After the first attack, he was subject to fits, each reducing him lower and lower. During his long sickness of seven years continuance, he was able often to go out, and once went to Plymouth court, but for the last few years of his life he was confined to his bed. He is represented as having been remarkably mild and pleasant in his disposition till he had the Palsy, after which he was irritable and

* Note A.

hard to please. He was not very tall, but fleshy, and of fine personal appearance. He died May 31, 1774, in the sixty-ninth year of his age. He was buried in the northwest part of 'the common' burying-ground, about three-fourths of a mile from Scituate harbor. His gravestones were removed, though not his remains, in 1828, to their present position, in the family burying-ground, near his former residence. The stones of his last wife, with those of several of his children, are neatly arranged beside his own. I give below the inscriptions, as they stand upon his own, and last wife's monuments of slatestone.

"Sacred
to the Memory of
Col. Thomas Clapp,
who died
May 31, 1774,
in the 69 year
of his age.

Rejoice in glorious hope,
Jesus the Judge shall come,
And take his servants up,
To their eternal home."

"Sacred
to the Memory of
Mrs. Esther Clapp,
who died
July 20, 1790,
aged 72 yrs.

When will separation cease,
Friendship's sons unite in peace,
Grief no more oppress the heart,
Friends no more be doomed to part?'

It is not known that any likeness of Rev. Thomas Clapp is in existence. Quite a number of his library books, especially law books, are in possession of his grandson, Mr. Leonard Clapp, from one of which I cut his name to send you, as doubtless in his own hand. Besides the volume of Mss. sermons, before referred to, the family have placed in my hands a letter, (or copy of one,) probably written by him, to the Governor, dated 'Boston, Aug. 4, 1755;' an interesting letter, sympathizing with his Excellency, on the death and defeat of Gen. Braddock, at Fort Du

Quesne, July 9, in which the Governor had also lost an own son, 'a young gentleman of superior accomplishments.' There is also the *remnant* of a Ms. sermon, and the letter addressed to him from Mr. Williams of Waltham, before alluded to; something of a curiosity. Most of his writings and private papers have been destroyed. In collecting many of the facts before stated, I would cheerfully acknowledge my obligations to Miss Mary Leonard Clapp, an intelligent lady, and great-grand-daughter of Rev. Thomas Clapp.

If I can render you any further assistance in so laudable an object, I shall be happy to do so. Please excuse my delay in forwarding this, as it has seemed necessary under the circumstances.

I remain,

Most truly yours,

DANIEL WIGHT, JR.

P. S. March 2d, '52. I have delayed sending this to secure a few dates, left blank, and also to enclose an anecdote from Dr. James, respecting Rev. Mr. Clapp, which he says he will put in writing, and may be of some interest. The *dates* I find cannot be ascertained, and the anecdote,* I will send when ready. Excuse this further delay."

* The anecdote referred to by Mr. Wight is here subjoined in the words of Doctor James.

"*Scituate, Feb. 19th*, 1852.

REV'D DEAR SIR:—In your manuscript relative to the history of Thomas Clapp, formerly minister in Taunton, Mass., which you kindly submitted to my perusal, I notice a brief allusion to his personal appearance. This brings to my recollection a little anecdote related to me forty years since, by a gentleman, who from his very advanced age at the time, might have been cotemporary with the distinguished person whose history you have traced. It is of importance only as it seems to confirm what you have written in regard to the physical form of the Reverend gentleman.

Mr. Clap's ministry in Taunton was of shorter continuance than that of either of his predecessors, if we except Rev. Mr. Hooke. We fortunately have chronological statements in Dr. Harris' account of Dorchester which confirm the dates of Mr. Wight. He not only states that a daughter of Major George Leonard married Mr. Clap, but under date of "1729, Feb. 16," quoting from their ancient church records, says: "Mr. Ebenezer Clap and Mr. Phillips Payson chosen to go to Taunton with the ordained officers of the church, to ordination of Mr. Thomas Clap on the 26th inst." (p. 197.) He was ordained on that day, 1729, and was the minister of Taunton nine years.* Some one has described him as "social in his temper, extremely fond of company, and very hospitable." It is added, on what authority I am not able to say: "many of the more rigid members of his church were dissatisfied, thinking his manners and habits too familiar

A man, (his name was given me by the narrator, but I have lost it,) doubtless something of a wag, called at the house of the father of Thomas who was then a youth of some ten or a dozen years of age, and no doubt a very interesting boy. The mother, (as mothers are sometimes wont,) was very lavish in praise of her promising son; speaking in glowing terms of his personal beauty, stating that 'he must be considered perfect in that respect, were it not for one deficiency, *his neck was a little too short*.' The man not being able perhaps to see with the partial eyes of the mother, and considering her remarks rather fulsome and extravagant, and withal intending to give a gentle rebuke to maternal vanity, replied: 'Indeed, madam, your son must be acknowledged as very beautiful with the exception which you have named, and which certainly is to be regretted; but I hope you will not allow yourself to be over anxious in regard to this solitary defect, as I think it by no means improbable, that the civil authorities will eventually afford a remedy.'

With respect,

Rev. Daniel Wight, Jr, Scituate. your friend and humble serv't, ELISHA JAMES.

* Mr. Clap built and occupied the house beautifully situated at the head of Deane Street, opposite the mansion houses of George A. and William A. Crocker. Judge Fales, Capt. Barney, Job Hall, Hon. James L. Hodges, and Doctor Gordon have been its successive owners since Mr. Clap's day.

and convivial for the sober gravity of the pulpit." This may have been so. But the additional statement, that "nothing remains to indicate the character of his pulpit performances," is fortunately wide from the truth. In addition to the volume of manuscript sermons in the hands of Mr. Wight, there is a volume of nearly three hundred pages, embracing eighteen sermons, which Rev. Mr. Brigham of Taunton, in his antiquarian researches has secured, any one of which is worthy of a place in this volume.* The sermons are on subjects suggested by the following passages of Scripture: 1 John 3: 2; Luke 23: 43; Matt. 9: 12; John 3: 19; Heb. 2: 16; John 8: 29; Luke 2: 25; Luke 1: 72; Matt. 5: 19; Song of Solomon 5: 16; Phill. 3: 8; Heb. 11: 13; Luke 16: 22; Eph. 5: 8; 1 Tim. 5: 6; Song of Solomon 5: 16.

So far as sermons read can "indicate the character of pulpit performances," it is proposed to do it, by furnishing an exact copy of the first sermon in this valuable collection of the writings of the fifth Taunton minister.

* The hand writing is uncommonly plain and beautiful, almost as legible as printed matter. The title page of the book in large, distinct characters is thus: "Sundry sermons and discourses on some of the main and chief doctrines or principles of the Christian religion. Composed by Thomas Clap of Taunton in New-England."

A SERMON*
ON
Our likeness to God,
AND
Vision of Him.

The Text, 1 John, 3: 2.— Beloved, Now we are the Sons of God, and it doth not yet appear what we shall be, But we know that when he shall appear, we shall be like Him, for we shall see Him as He is.

The Apostle John, Christ's beloved Disciple was the author of this Epistle, wherein he greatly Inculcates upon Christians the duty of loving God, and one another, and perswades them to holiness of life, without which they can lay no claim to any of the priviledges of the Gospell. Especially to that great priviledge of being God's children, for it is only those that truly love God and keep his commandments, that he takes into the number of his children, which is an unspeakable favour and priviledge; indeed, the apostle speaks of it as a great honour, and as a mighty instance of God's love to christians, in taking of them into the number of his children, as in the 1st verse of this chapter, Behold what manner of love the father hath bestowed upon us, that we should be called the Sons of God, a great favour. Indeed an astonishing Instance of his love! for whom God calls his Sons, he makes them really and truely so: he confers not the name without the thing. Now this priviledge, the apostle tells us in our text, we enjoy in this life, Beloved, now are we the Sons of God; this is the love which God bestows on christians in this

* I have retained the orthography, punctuation, and capital letters of the original letters in this, as in preceding productions of our ministers, rather than to modernize them, or make them in the slightest particular unlike what they were, when they proceeded from the pen of their authors.

world: this is the hapiness of their present condition; But what the favour and priviledges are, which God shall bestow upon them in the world to come, or what their future hapiness would be, he could not tell with that certainty, for says he, It does not yet appear what we shall be, the circumstances of our future hapiness and glory are not fully revealed to us; a vaill is drawn before it, so that we are in a great measure ignorant of what we shall be, yet this we know, that when he shall appear we shall be conformed to his blessed Image and shall be admitted to the Immediate Light and Enjoyment of him. It doth not yet appear what we shall be, i. e., we are in a great measure ignorant of our future hapiness, but when he shall appear i. e. when he shall display his glory in the appearance of his Son, who is to come in the glory of his father our future hapiness shall be fully revealed to us. While we are in this mortall state we have but a dark glimse of our future hapiness, and we shall never know what really it is untill we do get to heaven. The best conceptions that we can possibly form of it now, do fall vastly short of the Exceeding Greatness and glory of it. The particulars of our future happiness are no where exactly discovered to us, but only thus much we are assured of in Generall, that we shall be like God, for we shall see him as he is; which sufficiently Intimates to us that we shall be exceedingly happy and blessed in the coming world, for to be like God comprehends all possible hapiness in it, for God is not only the best but also the happiest of beings. The only Doctrine which I shall observe from the words, for our present meditation and Improvement is this, viz:

Doct: That the children of God, while in this world, are in a great measure Ignorant what their future hapi-

ness will be, but thus much they know and are assured off, that it shall consist in their likeness to God and in the Immediate vision and fruition of him — they shall be like God and shall see him as he is.

In speaking unto this Doctrine I will shew you first, That the children of God, while in this world, are in a great measure Ignorant what their future hapiness will be, and secondly, that thus much they know and are assured off, that it shall consist in their likeness to God and in the immediate vision and fruition of him, and lastly, I shall make some Improvement of the whole.

1. First, then, I am to shew you that the children of God while in this world are in a great measure Ignorant what their future hapiness will be. It doth not yet appear what we shall be. There is a vaill drawn between us and the heavenly world, so that we cannot clearly understand what are the felicities of it. The Scripture tells us that it is a glory yet to be revealed; that there shall be a future state of hapiness for good men in another world, God by his word hath assured us of, tho' this also was in some measure obscure both to the Jews and Gentiles, before the coming of Christ, yet now it is clearly revealed to us by him who hath brought life and Immortality to light by the Gospell, but the perticular circumstances of this hapiness are still hid from us; there are many things about it that we are entirely Ignorant off; we now know but in part. God has assured us in Generall that there is a future state of unspeakable happiness and Immense Glory; that good men shall be as happy and Blessed as they can possibly be; that it Infinitely surpasses any hapiness this world can possibly afford, and that it shall be Eternall. So much of it God hath been pleased to reveall to us for our Comfort and

Incouragement, the rest he hath Concealed from us. He hath let us know so much of the hapiness and Glory of the future world as is enough to quicken our Diligence and Excite our Endeavours for the obtaining and securing of it, and also to support and comfort us under all the difficulties, sorrows and temptations that we shall meet with in our passage thro' this world, but he hath not been pleased to let us know any further about it, and it would be a bold Intrusion into his Secrets, to pry and search any further, and if we should, It would be to no purpose, for in things which depend upon divine revelation, It is impossible for us to know any more than God is pleased to reveall to us. In matters of pure revelation we cannot go beyound the word of God; the things of God knoweth no man, but the Spiritt of God or he to whom the Spirit of God shall reveall them. A Learned Divine represents the matter to us in the following Comparison, If one should come (says he) from a Strange Country, never known and discovered before, and should only tell us in Generall that it was a most pleasant and delightful place, and the Inhabitants of it were a brave and Generous, and wealthy people, under the Government of a wise and Great King, ruling by Excellent laws; and that the perticular delight, and advantages of it were not to be Imagined by anything he knew in our own Country, and say no more about it. If wee gave Creditt to the person that made or brought us this relation, It would Create in us a great Admiration to see it and live in it. But it would be a vain Curiosity, to reason and conjecture about the particular Conveniences of it; because it would be Impossible by any discourse of ours, to arrive at the Certain Knowledge of any more than he who only knew it was pleased to tell us. This is the

Case, says he, as to our heavenly Country; our Blessed Saviour, who came down from heaven, from the bosom of the father, hath revealed to us a state of hapiness and Glory in Generall, and hath assured us that there are Eternall mansions of Bliss where good men shall be feasted upon pure pleasures and unmingled Joys, more manly, more refined and more Spirituall, than any this world can afford; that they shall be made as happy in body and soul as their natures are capable off, and shall never meet with anything that shall Vex or grieve them any more. In a word that there are Celestial mansions, where the righteous shall be glorified and shall shine as the Brightness of the Son in the Kingdom of their father forever and ever, and beyond this he hath made no perticular discovery to us of the felicity of that place; he hath given us no punctuall representation of the Glory of it. There are many things concerning the heavenly world that we are in dark about, and cannot speak of with any Certainty; we have it no where perticularly declared to us, what our work and employment shall be in heaven, or in what way God will Communicate himself to us, or what kind of conversation we shall have with the blessed angels and with one another, or whether we shall stand affected in any perticular manner to those who were our friends, and relations and acquaintance in this world. These and perhaps a thousand things more which may concern the glories of that state we are and must be Ignorant off, seeing our Saviour hath not revealed them to us. We are assured in Generall that the happiness of heaven is Exceeding great and full of glory, but the perticulars of it are not revealed to us, therefore we must be Content to be Ignorant of them untill wee come to heaven, where we shall have them all

revealed to us, and Indeed such is the Imperfection of our natures in this state of mortality, that we are not able to bear a full and clear representation of the heavenly glory, the splendor of it would overwhelm us and dash us to peices in a moment. like an Earthen vessell. When our Saviour was transfigured on the mount and a little Image of heaven was shewn to his disciples, they were strangely amazed and knew not what they said. And the apostle Paull tells us, that when he was taken up into the third heaven, the things which he saw and heard there were not to be uttered, so that well might the apostle say as in our text, It doth not yet appear what we shall be. It can't enter now in the heart of man to Conceive of the hapiness and glory of the heavenly world. Agreeably we read 1 Cor. 2.9, Eye hath not seen, nor Ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man, the things which God hath prepared for them that love him. Our future state is very obscure to us, while we are in this world, we have no distinct and perticular knowledge of it; when we talk and reason about it, we talk and discourse as children, but in the other world we shall grow up to be men and then we shall put away these childish thoughts; now we know in part, but then we shall know even as we are known; now we see through a glass darkly, but then we shall see face to face as the apostle Excellently argues Concerning this very matter in 1 Cor. 13. 9, 10, 11, 12, for we know in part and we prophesie in part; But when that which is perfect is come then that which is in part shall be done away. When I was a child, I spake as a child, I understood as a child, I thought as a child; But when I became a man I put away childish Things, for now we see through a glass darkly, but then face to face, now I know in part, but then shall I know even as also I am known.

II. I proceed now unto the second proposition to shew you that notwithstanding we are in a great measure Ignorant what our future hapiness shall be, yet thus much we know and are assured off, that it shall Consist in our likeness to God and in the Blessed vision and fruition of him, and this is a very great hapiness Indeed; for to be like God and to see him as he is, is the highest hapiness and greatest glory of a reasonable Creature; for what can an Immortal soull desire more than to be like the Blessed God, who is the being of beings, and to behold his glory, and this the apostle assures us in our text, shall be our hapiness in heaven. But we know that when he shall appear, we shall be like him for we shall see him as he is. In speaking unto this proposition, I will shew you first that our future hapiness shall Consist in our likeness to God; and secondly, in the blessed vision and fruition of him.

First, then, our future happiness shall Consist in our likeness to God. This we know, says the apostle in our text, when he shall appear we shall be like him, his Blessed Image will be restored to us in a greater perfection than ever man enjoyed in his state of Innocency. We shall be made holy as he who hath Called us is holy. But especially our likeness to God shall Consist in these two things: In the Immortality of our Natures and in the purity of our soulls.

First, then, our likeness to God will Consist in the Immortality of our Natures. We shall be Immortall, as he is Immortall; our duration will run parellell with Eternity. We shall never Cease to be. Indeed while we are in this mortall state we are Incapable of perfect and compleat hapiness. Such is the weakness of our faculties that we are Incapable of Eternall felicity, our frail Natures would

sink under an Eternall weight of glory. Nothing but an Immortall nature can be happy forever, and therefore the Scripture assures us that our natures shall be made Immortall, that this mortall shall put on Immortality. In the future world we shall be made Immorcall in our bodies and in our soulls, for our bodies which are now so weak and fraill, when they shall be raised again, shall be quite altered and changed from what they new are. Our blessed Saviour will by his Almighty power new mould and fashion them and make them Immortall like his own most glorious body. Agreeably says the apostle, Phill. 3. 21, the Lord Jesus Christ shall change our vile body, that it may be fashioned like unto his glorious body, according to the working, whereby he is able even to subdue all things, unto himself. The bodies of the saints will be like Christ's, beautifull and amiable, splendid and glorious, Immortall and Incorruptible. Christ rose from the dead after the power of an endless life. He dieth no more, death shall never have any more dominion over him. So the raised bodies of the saints, will be so refined from the principles of Corruption and mortality that they shall not waste, decay or die any more. Hence our Saviour, speaking of the Saints who are found worthy to Obtain the heavenly world, says Luke, 20. 36 neither can they die any more; for they are equall unto the Angells, and are the children of God, being the children of the resurrection. And the apostle doth perticularly set forth in what the great change that shall be made on the bodies of the saints at the resurrection doth consist: 1 Cor. 15. 42, 43, 44: So is the resurrection of the dead, It is sown in corruption, It is raised in Incorruption, It is sown in dishonour, It is raised in Glory: It is sown in weakness, It is raised in power, It is

sown a Naturall body, It is raised a Spirituall body. Our bodies now are vile and mean and Corruptible, attended with many weaknesses and Imperfections, and they will quickly be sown in dishonour in the grave, but at the resurrection they shall, by the mighty power of God, be refined and advanced into spirituall and vigorous, Glorious and Immortall bodies, and when this blessed Change shall be made, mortality shall be swallowed up of life, for as the apostle observes this Corruptible must put on Incorruption and this mortall must put on Immortality. And there is a Necessity of this in order to our perfect hapiness, for that is not a perfect hapiness which shall expire and have an End. It would strangely damp all the Joys of heaven if they were finite; tho' we were in the full possession of them, yet the thoughts of our leaving them would wonderfully lessen our esteem of them; there is no being that can be truely happy but what is of an Immortall nature, therefore the apostle is per-remptory in this, that our bodies must be Changed into Immortall Substances, because as they are now Constituted and framed they are utterly Incapable of Eternall happiness, see 1 Cor. 15. 50: now this I say, Brethren, that flesh and blood cannot inherit the Kingdom of God. Where by flesh and blood, the apostle does not mean, as many have imagined, our sinfull and impure nature, but our fraill and mortall nature, Consisting of such gross materialls, as flesh and blood are, for the maintenance and support of which, there is continuall need of new recruits and fresh supplies of nourishment by meat and drink. Such a nature as this which is necessarily mortal cannot inherit the Kingdom of God, which is a state of perpetual and Endless happiness. And that the apostle means this by the phrase of flesh and blood, is evident beyond all

doubt. from the next words which the apostle adds by way of explication of what he had said, this I say brethren, that flesh and blood cannot Inherit the Kingdom of God, neither doth Corruption Inherit Incorruption, that which is liable to death and Corruption, is not Capable of Immortall Glory and hapiness; and therefore our natures must be made Immortall, In order to their being made capable of Eternall hapiness, and Immortality makes us like God. This is part of that Image of his which will be Impressed on our bodies and our soulls at the resurrection, and it is an Evident testimony and declaration that we are the sons of God. We are now as one observes the children of God, in respect to our title to a future Inheritance, but this is hid from the world: but at the resurrection, when we shall bear the Image of his Immortality, this will be an evident mark of our being the sons of God; as our blessed Saviour was mightily declared to be the Son of God, by his resurrection from the dead, so likewise shall his members be declared to be the children of God, by that glorious change that shall be made in them at the resurrection; when this mortall shall put on Immortality, then we shall be the sons of God indeed, when we shall be equall to the angells and can die no more. Thus much may serve for the first perticular wherein our likeness to God in a future state shall consist, viz: in the Immortality of natures without which it is Impossible we should be everlastingly happy.

2. Again, Secondly, another perticular wherein our likeness to God in a future state will Consist is in the purity of our soulls, our soulls will undergo a glorious change as well as our bodies. They will be thoro'ly purified from all sin and Imperfection and conformed to the Image and likeness of God. The Image of God will be restored in the

soulls of the saints, in a greater beauty and perfection, than ever Adam Enjoyed in his state of Innocency. There will not be the least spot or stain of sin upon them, but they will be made perfect in holiness. They will be holy as God is holy, tho' not so holy as he is, for it is impossible that any finite being, should ever attain to an equal perfection in holiness with the blessed God, who is Infinitely and Essentially holy, but the holiness of the saints shall be of the same nature and kind with the holiness of God, and they shall be as perfectly holy as their natures are Capable of being. All the Comunicable perfections of the divine nature shall be bestowed on them. No grace nor vertue shall be wanting in them, but they shall be partakers of the divine nature and be made as much like God as they possibly can be. As the bodies of the Saints shall be fashioned like unto Christ's most glorious body, so their soulls shall be purified and conformed to the glorified soul of the blessed Jesus, for Christ is the glorious pattern after whom the Saints shall be fashioned. They shall bear a very near resemblance to Christ both in the inward and outward man. There will be a wonderfull similitude between the soulls of the saints and the Glorified soull of Jesus Christ in heaven; tho' Christ in all things must have the pre-eminence. Yet their soulls like Christ's shall be filled with all divine vertues and graces, and shall come up as near to the originall of them in Christ, as the limited nature and Circumstances of their Glorified Soulls will allow off. The Saints while they live in this world do long and strive to be free from sin and do labour to carry holiness on to perfection in the fear of God, tho' they cannot possibly attain to it in this life, for there is some relick of sin, some spots and Imperfection in the holiness of the best of men while they

live here. There will be some remainders of corruption cleaving to us while we continue in this mortal state. We shall never be perfectly holy in this life, but when we shall once get to heaven all sin and Imperfection shall be done away and we shall be presented to God without spot or blemish. We shall be perfectly cleansed from all those defilements which now make us so much unlike unto God. We shall then attain unto that perfection in holiness which wee so much reached and pressed after in this world; our natures will be so changed, the Image of God will be so compleated in us, that nothing contrary to the divine purity will remain in all our frame. As every lust will be purged out of us, so every grace will be perfected in us. We shall perfectly love God and delight in him, our whole soulls also shall be intirely devoted to him and to his service forever. One hour in heaven will make us thoro'ly perfect. What shall be wanting in our graces to make them perfect shall be added to them, for he who hath begun a good work in us, will perfect it, in the day of Christ: then we shall be perfect as our heavenly father is perfect, and holy as he who hath called us is holy; and as the apostle says in the verse following our text, we shall be pure even as God is pure — thus will the saints in heaven be like God, both in the Immortality of their natures, and in the purity of their soulls. And unless we be thus like God, it is impossible that we should be capable of Eternall hapiness; we can never bear the blissfull sight of him, nor take any pleasure in the enjoyment of him; for if our natures were mortall, we should be incapable of seeing God; what was said of Moses is equally true of all mankind in this state of mortality. We cannot see the face of God and live. Nothing that is fraill and dying can endure

the splendor of so great a glory. Nothing that stands in need of continuall reparation, as flesh and blood does, can inheritt the Kingdom of God. Nothing therefore but a fix'd and Immutable Nature, which can never decay, is capable of everlasting happiness, and it is as necessary also that our natures should be purè in order to our being happy forever, for the Scriptures assure us that without holiness no man shall ever see the Lord. Impure soulls cannot relish the joys of heaven, nor take any pleasure in the glorious presence of God. The hapiness of heaven is no ways suited to the taste of a carnal appetite. Wicked soulls if they were in heaven could find no pleasure there. The blissfull presence of the Lord, would be a terror to them, but our soulls must be first purified before we can taste the sweetness that there is in the pleasures of heaven; the divine Image must first be instampt on our natures, before we can take any delight in the presence of God; it is only divine qualities, as one excellently observes, that make us fitt company for our heavenly father, that make us capable of the Joys of heaven and happy in the delights of that glorious place. So then upon the whole our being like God in the Immortality of our natures and in the purity of our natures is not only a great part of our future happiness, but it also wonderfully prepares us for the Blissfull Vision and fruition of him, which brings me to the second Generall head, viz:

2. To shew you that our future Happiness shall also Consist in the immediate Vision and fruition of God; thus we are told in our text that we shall hereafter see God as He is, we shall not only be like him, but we shall see him as he is. It is but a little we see and know of God in this world, compared with what we shall arrive unto in the

other world. We have now but an imperfect and unsatisfactory sight of God thro' the Glass of his word and works. We see but the shadow of him or as the apostle speaks we see him but thro' a Glass darkly, but in heaven we shall have a perfect and soull satisfying vision of him. We shall see him face to face; we shall know even as we are known; we shall see him as he is. But here how to unfold this Vision of God or how to give you the full sense and meaning of these most significant words, I suppose it is impossible for me or any one else to do in this state of mortality; But however I would as briefly and as plainly as I can offer my tho'ts on this mysterious head, and that both negatively and positively.

1. First, negatively, This immediate Vision of God or our seeing him as he is does not imply any corporeal sight of him, or our seeing his essence with our bodily Eyes, for God is a pure Spirit and cannot be the object of bodily sight; a Spirit is not to be perceived by any corporeal sense, for as Christ told his disciples, a spirit hath not flesh and bones, as they saw him have, and in Col. 1. 15, God is expressly stiled the Invisible God, and we read in 1. John 4. 12, that no man hath seen God at any time, i. e., with his bodily eyes, and to the same purpose we read, 1. Tim. 6. 16, that God only hath Immortality, dwelling in the light, which no man can approach unto, whom no man hath seen nor can see, from which text it is easie to observe that the Essence of God is absolutely invisible to a bodily eye and therefore there neither will nor can be such a sight of him in heaven. Indeed the saints in heaven with their bodily Eyes see the Glorified man Christ Jesus. They will see Christ Glorified in our Natures, will see his person as sensibly as they will see one anothers persons, after they

have received their resurrection bodies. Such a sensible sight of Christ with his bodily Eyes, holy Job expected with an assurance of faith; see Job 19. 25, 26, 27, I know that my Redeemer liveth, and that he shall stand at the latter day upon the Earth, and tho' after my skin worms destroy this body, yet in my flesh shall I see God, whom I shall see for myself and mine Eyes shall behold and not another, tho' my reins be consumed within me; but tho' the saints shall with their bodily Eyes behold the Glorified body of Christ, and shall see the Lamb of God seated upon his throne, Yet they shall not have any sensible Vision of the Essence of God, for he is such a pure Spirit, that it is impossible that he should be discerned with the bodily Eye.

2. Again, Secondly, our seeing God as he is does not imply that we shall in heaven have a perfect and comprehensive sight of God, for God is an Infinite being and cannot be comprehended by any finite understanding, he is incomprehensible, hence those lofty expressions of Zophar may be as well adapted to the state of the saints in glory as they were once unto Job upon Earth, Job II. 7, 8, 9, Canst thou by searching find out God? Canst thou find out the Almighty unto perfection? It is as high as heaven, What canst thou do? Deeper than hell, What canst thou know? the measure thereof is longer than the Earth and broader than the sea. There is but a little portion that is seen or heard of God, by the brightest Created Intelligence in heaven. It is impossible that ever finite should comprehend Infinite, and after the largest discoveries of God that ever will be made to the saints in heaven, yet there will be infinitely more unseen and unknown of God than they will ever see and know of him: So that

the Vision of God in heaven does not imply a perfect comprehensive sight of him.

2. But I proceed to say now secondly positively, we shall have an Intellectuall vision of God ; tho' we shall never be able to comprehend God fully, nor to see him with our bodily eyes yet we shall have an intellectual vision of him. We shall have an immediate sight of God by the understanding, for the understanding is the eye of the soull, and by it the soull, properly speaking, performs its vision, and by it we shall see and know God. In this life our understandings are easiely over-born by the lustre and excellency of an object, hence it was that God said to Moses, when he so earnestly desired to see his face, that he could not see him and live : Exod. 33 : 18, 20, And Moses said I beseech thee shew me thy Glory, and he said thou canst not see my face, for there shall no man see me and live. So transcendant and glorious a sight would quite overwhelm and overcome our faculties ; as the light of the sun, if we look stedfastly and directly upon it, will dazle and blind the strongest eye. The sight of so glorious a being as God is, of so much excellency and hapiness and perfection, as Concenter in him, would fill us with joy and wonder, too great for fraill mortality to bear. But in the state of Glory, the eye of our soulls, i. e., our understanding faculty shall be enlarged unto that capacity and purified to that clearness, and elevated to that strength, as to be able in a great measure to receive and bear the lustre and glory of the divine nature, and we shall be so far from being oppressed and burthened with the presence of God and from sinking under the weight of his glory, that we shall be infinitely ravished and delighted with it. Our understandings being raised and advanced, God will make glorious exhibi-

tions of himself to our soulls. He will infinitely condesend to our finite capacities ; he will, says one, accommodate his glory to the weaker eye and shallow apprehension of a poor finite being, otherwise it would be impossible for the soull, tho' enlarged and elevated to the highest pitch, to know and converse with God, for after all our exaltation in heaven, wee shall remain but finite creatures and must be treated as such.

1. But to be a little more perticular here. Our seeing God as he is, implies in it that we shall have a very clear, distinct and perfect vision of God. We shall know even as we are known : as God knows us so we shall then know him, as to the truth and certainty of our knowledge. Indeed we shall not know God as fully as he knows us for this is impossible. Finite cannot comprehend Infinite, but what we shall know of God, shall be with as great certainty as he knows us. We shall have very clear apprehensions of the nature and perfections of God and shall see and know unspeakably more of him, than ever we are capable of in this world. Such will be the clearness of our knowledge, that it will intirely free us from all errors and mistakes about him. We are now many times at a loss, what conceptions to have of God, we are hard put to it, to reconcile one perfection of God with another, and to make them consistent and agree together, but in heaven we shall see the most perfect harmony between them and that the seeming discord which we imagined to be between them was owing to nothing but our ignorance and darkness ; there are many things, while we are in this world, by reason of darkness, appear so intricate and misterious, that we know not what satisfactory account to give of them, but in heaven they will be so clearly revealed to our understandings,

that we shall no longer be at a loss how to think or what to say of them; we shall be able to pry as deep into those profound mysteries of our holy religion, a Trinity of persons in the Unity of the Godhead and the Incarnation of the Son of God as is needfull for any creature to know or lawfull to desire. We shall also be able to search into the misteries of our redemption and discover the amazing depths of divine grace appearing in it, we shall also see as far as we can wish, into the reasons of God's decrees and be fully satisfied why God pitched upon some to be vessels of mercy and left others to be vessels of wrath; why he made choice of these very persons and past by others, as good by nature as they. And as the misteries of Grace so all the dark scenes of providence will be unriddled to us. God's judgments in this world, are many times a great deep and unsearchable and his ways past finding out. God's dealings with us and with others, seem sometimes to be unaccountable, and we can no way reconcile them to his Justice and holiness, but in heaven it will be all cleared up unto us and we shall be satisfied that all God's providences, how dark and difficult soever they may have appeared to us were all ordered and directed by Infinite wisdom and councill. Mr. Flavell says that the misteries of the Scriptures and providences of God, will be no misteries then. Curiosity itself will be there satisfied. The Glorified mind will see clearly into all the secrets of nature the wonders of Providence, the misteries of redeeming Grace and into the hidden realities of the Invisible world. In a word in heaven we shall have such clear apprehensions of God and his ways, that we shall forever admire his wisdom, holiness, Justice, goodness and truth, and shall say of him and to him, thy ways are not as our ways, nor

thy thoughts as our thought, but as the heavens are high above the earth, so are thy ways above our ways and thy thoughts above ours.

2. Again, secondly, Our seeing God as he is, implies in it our seeing of him as our own God and proper portion; to see God would be no comfort to us, unless we could look upon him as our own God; holy Job could say, Job 19. 27, whom I shall see for myself and mine eyes shall behold and not for another, to look upon him as anothers God would not satifie us, but if we can look upon him as our own God and proper portion forever, this will fill us with unspeakable joy. Sight without Interest is like the light of a Glowworm, light without heat. It is only that sight of God, which assures us of our interest in him, that will satisfie us and make us happy. Balaam saw Christ by a spirit of prophecy, but he had no comfort because he had no interest in him. The wicked shall see God, but not with joy but with weeping Eyes and Gnashing teeth, because they cannot see him as their Lord. It is only seeing God and Christ as ours that will afford us true and solid comfort. This is what good men have desired, prayed and panted for, in this world, but have not attained to it; what would they not have given, to have been assured that God was their God, and that Christ was their Saviour and redeemer, but when they come to heaven they shall see and be satisfied that God is their own God, and Christ is the everlasting portion of their soulls. In this world good men are many times in doubt about their spirituall state, God hides his face from them, and they are filled with darkness and distress, but in heaven all clouds fears and darknesses shall be dispelled, there will be no hidings of Gods face any more, but then they shall have such an

assurance of their Interest in God, that they shall behold him with the highest pleasure and delight, and shall never more be disquieted upon that account so as to hinder their joys in the Lord. Again thirdly,

3. Our seeing God as he is implies in it that we shall see him with love and delight! the children of God do now love him whom they have not seen any other way than by an eye of faith, how then will they love him when they shall come to see him as he is, and find that not one half of his glory was told them. Love enters in at the eye, and is maintained and increased by frequent sight. The first sight of God in heaven will draw away our soulls to him as a greater flame doth a less, and we shall feel our hearts affected in such a wonderfull manner as they never were before. In this world our soulls move towards God in a slow and dull manner, but in heaven they will run towards him with an exceeding quickness like the chariots of Aminadab, we shall then be filled with the most ardent flames of love to God. The apostle tell us 1. John, 4. 16, God is love and he that dwelleth in love dwelleth in God. As iron put into the fire becomes all fiery, so the soull dwelling in the God of love, becomes all love, all delight, all joy, &c., the soulls of the saints in heaven do mount up in a mighty flame of love, they love God superlatively and above all things. Such is the love and delight which we shall then have in God, as one excellently observes, that if the perfection of that state would admit of shame and sorrow, we should blush and mourn in heaven to think how cold our love and how low our delights in God were here upon the Earth, for then our soulls shall feel amazing transports of love, our hearts will melt and dissolve in love, when they shall feel the perpendicular beam, of creating,

electing, redeeming and preserving love, powerfull beating upon them; our love to God will be inexpressible when we shall come to see him as he is. Again fourthly,

4. The Vision which we shall have of God in heaven, will be an assimilating vision; It will be such a sight of God as will transform us into the nearest possible likeness to him; this vision carries a transforming power with it; we shall be like God, says our text, for we shall see him as he is; as likeness to God prepares us for the sight of him, so the blissfull sight of him begetts likeness to him. Our soulls here being sanctified and renewed by grace, when they come to behold the glorious face of God in heaven, they will immediately be changed into his blessed image. Indeed the image of God is begun in us in this life, but it will be perfected in heaven; one sight of the glory of God, will cause all carnality and sin and everything that is contrary to the image of God to vanish out of the soull and an intire frame of holiness to succeed; the apostle assures us, that the faint vision which the saints in this world have of God, by faith, does daily transform them more and more into his likeness, II Cor. 3. 16; much more will the open and immediate vision of God in heaven transform us into his blessed image, as the heavens over our heads, as soon as ever they behold the rising sun are immediately transformed into its likeness, and turned into a region of light, so when we shall be brought to see the glory of the Lord, we shall be filled with it, and shall be made all glorious. Again fifthly,

5. The vision of God in heaven or our seeing of him as he is, implies in it, a full enjoyment of God. Sight implies enjoyment; to see a friend is to enjoy him, the pleasure of his company and conversation; so the sight of God

Implies Comunion and fellowship with him. To see God face to face Implies Intimate Comunion and Converse with him. Now there can be no greater hapiness, than to enjoy God; this is the perfection of hapiness; to have fellowship with angels and seraphims, is not so great a hapiness, as to have Comunion with the blessed God, who is the chiefest good, and best of beings; as to be without God, and forever banished his presence, is an unspeakable misery, nothing less than an hell of misery, so to have God for our God, and to have intimate converse with him is an heaven of hapiness. All possible hapiness that we can desire or wish for is implied in our enjoyment of God. How did holy David triumph, in that enjoyment of God which he had in this life, which as one words it, is but a cluster of grapes to the heavenly Canaan. It made him to say as in Ps. 73. 25, whom have I in heaven but thee? and there is none upon earth that I desire besides thee. So then, if God enjoyed by faith, doth fill the soull with so much hapiness in this life, with what ravishing joys shall it be filled withall, when it comes to enjoy God by Immediate Vision. If good men account themselves happy in the enjoyment of Gods gracious presence on earth, it will certainly be an unspeakable blessedness to them to enjoy his glorious presence in heaven. This is the highest felicity that any mortall creature can possibly attain unto. Again, sixthly,

6. Our seeing God as he is implies in it that we shall have a soull satisfying sight of him; hence it is, this Vision is usually called by divines the Beatific Vision or the sight which will make the subject perfectly blessed and happy. Holy David could say, Ps. 17. 15, I shall behold thy face in righteousness, I shall be satisfied, when I awake with thy likeness. Our soulls in heaven will be perfectly at

rest in God; all their desires will be satisfied, the understanding can know no more, the will can will no more; the reflections of joy, delight and love will be at full rest as in their proper Center. That which makes the understanding, will and affections restless and unsatisfied in all discoveries and Injoyments here, is because the nature of the things which we now converse with is limitted and imperfect; but in heaven God shall be all in all unto the soull, for God is an infinite being, and an inexhaustible fountain of delights, and in him our soulls may take their fill of pleasure. The comforts of this world do rather inflame than satisfie the desires of the soull, but the comforts of the other world are perfectly satisfying, so that we shall feel no uneasiness of desire there. Surely nothing can be wanting to satisfie a soull, that both sees God and is like him. Here the desires of an Immortall soull terminate, the heart can't rise higher than this, for all possible blessedness is sum'd up and contained in it; tho' the soull of man can't find any perfect contentment in anything here, but in God it will find more than it can wish for, all its longings will be satisfied. In a word in the blessed Vision of God, all our desires will be bounded, all our apetites perfectly satisfied and all our capacities completely filled; for how can it be otherwise, seeing our Vision of God does make us like him, and to be like God is to be like the best and happiest of beings. Again seventhly, and lastly,

7. Our seeing God as he is, implies in it an everlasting Vision of him. The apostle tells us we shall be ever with the Lord, we shall always dwell in his blessed presence and forever behold his glory. In this world the children of God, do frequently complain of God, hiding his face from them, but there never shall be heard any such complaint

in heaven. no cloud shall ever rise there to obscure the vision of his face, but we shall see him as he is, thro' an endless eternity. This greatly Inhances the hapiness of our heavenly state and makes the Vision of God so delightfull and satisfying; for if our duration in heaven were but for a limited time, tho' it were for never so long a period, it would wonderfully abate the pleasure we should take in being there. It would damp our joys in heaven to think that they must come to an end. It would hinder our taking full Satisfaction in them, but this is that which sweeteus to us the pleasures of heaven, that they shall never end. This is that which crowns the glory of the heavenly world, that it shall never fade away; our vision and fruition of God shall run parallel with eternity. We shall live with God, and have full and ravishing views of him forever and ever.

Thus I have something largely opened to you the nature of that vision which the saints will have of God in heaven, and shewed you what is implied in our seeing God as he is, and in so doing I have set before you something of the unspeakable hapiness of heaven, but how great that hapiness is we shall never really know before we do come to heaven, for it doth not yet appear what we shall be, but when we come to heaven, we shall be ready to say of it, as the Queen of Sheba did of Solomon's wisdom and prosperity, that half of it hath not been told us, for who can say how happy those soulls must needs be, who are transformed into the image of God, do behold his blessed face and do everlastingly feast themselves in the enjoyment of him. Well therefore might the apostle say, Eye hath not seen, nor Ear heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive of those great and glorious things which God hath prepared for them that love him.

The only use which I shall now make of this doctrine, shall be in a word of exhortation. Let us all be exhorted to prepare ourselves for the Blessed Vision and fruition of God. This is the main business of our lives, for if we do not prepare ourselves for it in this world, we shall never be addmitted to it in the next. Indeed we shall all have a Vision of God, both good and bad, but with a very great difference. The wicked and unprepared will have a dreadful sight of him, a sight that will be so far from rendering them blessed, that it will render them unspeakably miserable; instead of making them rejoice and triumph, it will make them to fear and tremble, to mourn and weep. Impure soulls are utterly unfitt for Comunion with God, there can be no sweet intercourse between the holy God and impenitent sinners, for what pleasure can God take in a soull, all over defiled and stained with sin; surely none at all, for nothing is more loathsome to God than sin, nor more hatefull to him than the workers of iniquity. So that unless we are in some measure by purity and holiness prepared for the blissfull sight of him, there can be no manner of fellowship between us, for as there is no fellowship between light and Darkness or between Christ and Beliall so there can be none between the holy God and Impure soulls. The Scripture expressly tells us, Heb. 12. 14, that without holiness no man shall see the Lord. As the eye distempered with diseased humors, cannot comfortably behold the sun, so neither can a soull debased with sin with any comfort behold the favour of God. That Vision of God, as a learned divine observes, which is an heaven to God-like soulls, is an hell to wicked ones; it would chase them out of heaven, if they were in it, and cause them to flie away, from the glory of it, as Batts and Owils, do

from the light of the sun, and of their own accord to wrap their guilty heads in the shades of Eternall Darkness and Dispair. Wicked Spirits cannot Endure the Glorious presence of the Lord, whose natures are so infinitely disagreeable to his: yea heaven itself would not be a happy place to Impure soulls: their natures are so contrary to the happiness of that place, that it would be impossible for them to take any pleasure or satisfaction in the enjoyment of it; the Delights of heaven are so pure and spirituall, that Carnall hearts have no manner of taste or relish for them. So that if a sinner could by any means steall into heaven, into the Blissfull sight and presence of God, he would from the evil temper and disposition of his own mind, be extreamly miserable even in the mansions of the blessed, for the same depraved and vicious minds, which we carry out of this world with us, we shall retain in the next: If we are wicked and unholy, or if we are righteous and holy, when we leave this world, so we shall continue forever. It is true indeed, heaven perfects those holy and virtuous dispositions which are begun in us in this life, But the other world alters no man as to his main state. He that is filthy will be filthy still, and he that is unrighteous will be unrighteous still. If we do not in some good measure, mortifie our lusts and passions here, death will not kill them for us, but we shall carry them with us into the other world; and if God should admit us into heaven, we should be far from being happy, for we should meet with nothing there, to Gratifie and please our sensuall appetites and Vicious Inclinations, for as the apostle speaks in another sense, the kingdom of heaven, is not meats and drinks, but righteousness and peace and joy in the holy Ghost. There is nothing in heaven suitable to the desires and cravings of a

wicked man. He would pine and famish ; amidst the plenty of delights which that place abounds withall, for all the joys and pleasures of the heavenly world are purely spirituall, and can be relished by none but only those who have purified themselves as God is pure. Heaven is too pure an air for corrupt soulls to live and breathe in, and the whole employment and conversation of that place is both unsuitable and unacceptable to sensuall and vicious persons. So that you see how necessary purity and holiness is, to qualifie us for the blissfull sight of God, and for the enjoyments of heaven. O how carefull should we all be in our preparations for another world, so that whenever we leave this, we may be qualified to dwell in Gods presence forever, in whose presence there is fulness of joy and at whose right hand there are pleasures forevermore. Let sinners seek a renovation of their natures, a change of their hearts and lives. Let them beg the Spirit of God to renew them after the divine image, to change them from sin to grace, for without holiness none shall ever see the Lord with comfort. And let the children of God seek after greater measures of sanctification, and endeavour to cleanse themselves more and more from all filthiness of flesh and spirit, and to carry holiness on to perfection in the fear of God. In a word if you would please God and live with him and be happy forever press after holiness. There is nothing that will stand you in so much stead as holiness. Riches and honours, wisdom and knowledge are not comparable to holiness, for you may be rich and great in this world, and yet miss of heaven ; you may be wise and learned and yet miss of heaven ; but if you are holy it is impossible that you should miss of heaven. God can as soon deny himself as shut an holy soull out of heaven ;

therefore strive after holiness. seek for it as silver and search for it as hid Treasure. With all your Gettings labor to get this true and spirituall wisdom, for the merchandise of it is better than the merchandise of silver and the gain thereof than fine gold. She is more precious than rubies; and all the things thou canst desire, are not to be compared unto her; Length of days is in her right hand and in her left riches and honour; her ways are ways of pleasantness and all her paths are peace; she is a tree of life to them that lay hold upon her and happy is every one that retaineth her. Wherefore, Dearly Beloved, as the apostle Exhorts, cleanse yourselves from all filthiness of flesh and spirit and perfect holiness in the fear of God; put off the old man with its lusts and corruptions, and put on the new man, which after the image of God, is Created in righteousness and true holiness, and Be ye followers of God as dear children, that ye may be holy, Blameless, and sincere, the sons of God without rebuke in the midst of a Crooked and Perverse Generation, and, to have done, Be ye pure as God is pure, and holy as he who hath called you is holy. Be ye perfect even as your heavenly father is perfect, and live soberly righteously and Godly in this present evill world, so that when you come to die and leave the world, an entrance shall be ministred unto you abundantly, into the everlasting Kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, where we shall have ravishing views of God in glory and shall be satisfied with his likeness forever.

Preached at Taunton;
" at Attleboro';
" at Bristol.

CHAPTER VII.

REV. JOSIAH CROCKER, THE SIXTH MINISTER OF TAUNTON.

After the dismission of Mr. Clap in 1738, a few years elapsed, before the town could unite upon a successor. It was during this period, probably, whilst there was a vacancy in the pastoral office, that a new church organization took its rise in town, a more minute account of which will be found in the appendix to this chapter.*

Mr. John Guild, afterwards settled in the ministry in New-Jersey, received a call from the church in Taunton, which he declined. Rev. Gilbert Tennent, one of the most eminent preachers of the last century, occupied the pulpit several Sabbaths, and awakened a general interest. It was not till the former part of the year 1742, a candidate appeared, who received and accepted a call to occupy the place of a Gospel minister in Taunton.

Rev. Josiah Crocker was the successor of Hooke, Street, Shove, Danforth, Clap, and thus the sixth Pastor and Preacher of this ancient town. The history of the name and early ancestry of Mr. Crocker are kindly furnished by J. Wingate Thornton, Esq., allied by marriage to the family.

The house of Croker or Crocker, originally seated at

* Note A.

Croker's Hele and Crokern Foe, in Devonshire, was a family so ancient, that an old proverbial distich records that

> 'Croker, Crewys, and Copplestone,
> 'When the Conqueror came, were at home.'

They became possessed of Lincham by marriage with the heiress of Churchill. The genealogy of Croker of Lincham is accurately recorded by Prince, Risdon, and Pole, and exhibits a descent of eleven John Crockers in almost uninterrupted succession. The last male of the elder branch was Courtenay Croker, Esq. The male line however was preserved by Thomas Croker of Trevillas, in Cornwall, second son of the eighth John Croker of Lincham, who obtained in about 1600, the estate of Ballyanker, County of Waterford, and while the eldest son remained at Trevillas, his youngest sons, to the number of three or four, migrated to Ireland. They were all probably soldiers; two of them, at least, were so, and distinguished themselves by the extraordinary and almost romantic capture of the city of Waterford in 1650. They were ancestors of the Right Hon. John Wilson Croker, and of Thomas Crofton Croker, Esq., the well known literary gentlemen. The family coat of arms was, argent a chevron engrailed gules, between three ravens proper. Some of the name, settled in Cornwall, called the birds 'Cornish Choughs,' but this is either an error or a difference: Croker of Lincham always bore 'three ravens,' and, having obtained Lincham by marriage with the heiress of Churchill, quartered sable, a lion rampant, argent, for that name. The general crest of the Croker family is a raven proper. Edward IV. granted to Sir John Croker, who accompanied him as cup, and standard bearer in his expedition to

France in 1475, for *Crest*, 'a drinking cup, or, with three fleurs of the same, issuing therefrom, and charged with a rose.' *Mottoes*, *Deus alit eos*, and, *Je tiendray ma puissance par ma foi.**

William Croker was in Scituate in 1636, or earlier, and removed soon after to Barnstable. John, his brother, was there in 1636, in 1654, sold land south-west of the burying-ground, near the harbor, to John Whiston, and removed to Barnstable, whither William had preceded him. William's (not John's, as Deane says) children were William, born 1637, Elizabeth, born 1639, Samuel, born 1642, Job, born 1644, Josiah, born 1647, Eleazer, born 1650, Joseph, born 1654.† The fifth child, Josiah, was born at Barnstable, 19th of September 1647, and October 22, 1668, married Melatiah, daughter of Thomas Hinckley, Esq., Governor of Plymouth Colony. He died 2d of February, 1698; his wife survived him, and died 2d of February 1714.‡ Josiah Crocker was a member of Capt. John Gorham's company in the "Narragansct Battle," in 1675. He was one of the original proprietors of Gorham, Me., which township was granted Captain Gorham and Company for services rendered in this war. Josiah, the son of Josiah and Melatiah Crocker, was born February 8th, 1684, and April 10th, 1718, "was joyned to Desire Thacher in marriage." "Desire, daughter of Colonel John Thacher, and Lydia Gorham, was born 24th of December, 1688." "Josiah, (the son of Josiah and Desire Crocker,) was born in Yarmouth on the 30th day of October, in ye year of our Lord 1719. Desire, daughter of ye above sd Josiah and Desire Crocker was born in Yarmouth on ye

* Burke's Armory and Commoners.
† Barnstable Records.
‡ Deane 244, Genealogical Register, vol. 2., pp. 66 and 390.

17th day of Dec. 1721."* "Mr. Josiah Crocker, late of Yarmouth, dyed on board his own vessel, in Saint Mary's Harbor, in Annapolis Riall, Oct. ye 10th 1721." "Mrs. Desire Crocker, she dyed on ye sixth of May 1722 [1723?] a little before sunrise on a Lord's Day morning."†

The Faculty Records of Harvard College state that Josiah Crocker, who was afterwards minister of Taunton, was from Yarmouth, and fifteen years of age when he entered college in 1734; which agrees with the Yarmouth Records from which we have quoted.‡

Mr. Crocker, the sixth minister of Taunton, was therefore the only son of Josiah and Desire Crocker of Yarmouth. His grandmother was daughter of Gov. Hinckley, and sister-in-law of Deputy Governor William Bradford, through him related to Prince, and the Mayhews. His mother was daughter of Hon John Thacher, granddaughter of Hon. John Howland, and great-grand-daughter of Hon. John Carver, the first Governor of Plymouth Colony. Born in 1719, he graduated at Harvard College in 1738, when nineteen years of age. He began preaching on probation at Taunton, August 16th, 1741, and about nine months after, was ordained, viz: May 19, 1742.§ He was dismissed from his pastoral charge, Nov-

* Yarmouth Records, Book v., p. 86., from Amos Otis, Esq., of Yarmouth.

† Inscriptions in the Yarmouth burial-ground.

‡ The American Quarterly Register, (vol. 12, pp. 138 and 143,) and the author of a newspaper sketch of Crocker in 1833, are in an error therefore when they state that he was born "in Barnstable in 1722." They are wrong both as to the place and the time of his birth. The same error appears in the inscription on the gravestone.

§ The action of the town in giving Mr. Crocker a call to settle in the ministry has recently come to light amongst the papers of Gen. Godfrey. It purports to be a "true copy from ye Town Book, Folio 14, exam'd per James Williams, Town Clerk:"

ember 1, 1765, but continued to reside in Taunton till his death* which occurred, according to the inscription on his stone, August 28, 1774.† He was therefore minister

"At a town meeting legally warned, and held at ye public meeting house in Taunton, on Monday, ye *9th* day of November, Anno Domini 1741, The Hon. Seth Williams, Esq., chosen moderator for said meeting.

1. It was put to vote, whether the town will concur in ye vote of ye church, that Mr. Josiah Crocker be their minister, and it passed in ye affirmative. The town do accordingly make choice of him to be their minister.

2*dly*. The question was put by ye moderator, whether ye town will now act on ye second article, mentioned in ye warrant, and it passed in ye affirmative. And then it was put to vote, whether ye town will raise ye sum of Two hundred pounds in Bills of public credit on this Province, or either of ye neighboring Colonies, (accounting silver money at twenty-nine shillings ye ounce) to be annually paid to him, ye said Mr. Josiah Crocker, during his ministry in this town, to enable him to carry on ye work of ye ministry amongst us in said town. Voted in ye affirmative."

Again in 1755, the town for some reason raised an additional sum for Mr. Crocker, as appears from the following vote. "Taken from Taunton Town Book, Folio 294, and exam'd per James Williams, Town Clerk: "At a town meeting legally warned and held at Taunton public meeting house, the *6th* of Oct., 1755, Voted, that ye sum of ten pounds be raised for ye support of ye Rev. Mr. Josiah Crocker this present year, more than ye sum of his yearly contract, and that ye assessors add ye same to ye minister's rate."

* I have seen the will of Mr. Crocker. It bears date "Augst *5th* 1774, in ye 14th year of his Majesty's reign," and was witnessed by Charles Barstow, Susannah Tisdale, and James Williams. It was written by Mr. Crocker himself, who speaks of "hoping in the mercy of God, thro' Jesus Christ, for the forgiveness of many and aggravated sins," of "believing also the doctrine of the resurrection of the dead." His widow and children are all particularly named in the disposition of his property. To Josiah Crocker he gave his "great Bible:" to Joseph Crocker, "the Bible called his preaching Bible." President Quincy states in his history of Harvard College (vol. 2, p. 49,) that among the donations to that Institution "to repair the loss of its Library" were books and philosophical apparatus from Josiah Crocker, A. M.

† The entire inscription is as follows:

"In memory of
Mr. Josiah Crocker,
Pastor of the first church
in Taunton.
He died August 28th 1774 in
the 53d year of his age.
"The memory of the just shall flourish, when they sleep
in dust."

There is an important error in the age of Mr. Crocker. He was in his "55th year:" The Yarmouth Records, Cambridge College Records,

of the town more than twenty-three years. He entered upon the work of a Pastor at an early age, and was distinguished for his ardor, pathos, persuasive powers, and warm-hearted devotion to his calling.* It was during that memorable period of New-England's history, which witnessed the "Great Awakening," that Mr. Crocker lived and labored in Taunton. He entered into the service assigned him with all his soul. Nor were his efforts unattended with success. In a long letter directed to Rev. Mr. Prince of Boston in 1744, he gives a minute account of the nature and degree of this success.† He was called upon to preach often in neighboring towns. His services were highly prized.‡ Persons came from a great distance to hear him preach.§ From the few fragments of discourses,‖ which remain, I should infer his efforts in the pulpit were for the most part extemporaneous; and that

and an old family record, now in possession of Mrs. Richmond of Taunton, clearly prove this. On this account we may less regret that the old stone has been broken down; especially as it is soon to be succeeded by a new one, through the considerate liberality of the Messrs. Crockers of this town, grandchildren of the minister's eldest son, Josiah. The family lot likewise on "the Plain," has been recently enclosed with a substantial iron fence, at an expense of more than one hundred dollars, by Samuel B. King, Esq., connected by marriage with the family.

* I have frequently heard Hon. Samuel Crocker, of this town, a grandson of the minister, remark on these characteristics of his ancestor. "He was a most *persuasive* preacher," expressed the idea which he had of him. Dea. Eddy of Bridgewater, who well remembered the sermons of the Taunton minister, once said to Mr. Crocker, that of all the preachers he ever heard, none surpassed him, in his earnest, yet tender, persuasive manner. Chief Justice Parsons made a similar remark, after hearing Rev. Mr. Crocker pray and deliver a brief address at a Church Conference on "the Cape."

† Note B. ‡ Note C.

§ An instance of this has been related to me on this wise. A woman who had heard of Crocker's preaching, undertook to travel all the way from Plymouth to Taunton with a baby in her arms, to hear him preach. When her load seemed heavy, and the way long, the course she took to comfort herself or the baby, was to cry out, at the top of her voice, "*Crocker's ahead! Crocker's ahead!*"

‖ Note D.

he relied upon the excitement of the occasion to supply him with the materials of discourse. That he was not deficient however in clearness of apprehension concerning doctrine, and ability to state his views, such as they were, is apparent from an article which has long slumbered amongst many other time-worn papers in this town, and has made its appearance only in season to find a place in the appendix to this chapter.*

Mr. Crocker, like all other ardent, zealous men had many friends, and not a few enemies. These last succeeded in cutting short the period of his ministry.† The complete history of the dissension and discontent which sprung up, cannot now be written. The materials are wanting. It is well perhaps that they are irrecoverably lost. Traditional accounts may have authorized a writer in one of the Taunton papers in 1833, supposed to be Mr. Baylies, to say: "Many were displeased that Whitfield was permitted by Mr. Crocker, to occupy his pulpit." It is well known Whitfield had no sincerer friend in this part of the country than the then minister of Taunton. Mr. Crocker in many respects resembled that extraordinary man, and some one has suggested as an appropriate epitaph for the former, what Cowper wrote with direct reference to the latter:

> "He lov'd the world that hated him; the tear,
> That dropp'd upon his Bible, was sincere:
> Assailed by scandal and the tongue of strife,
> His only answer, was a blameless life."

Mr. Crocker lived in what to this day is called "the Parsonage," southeast of the village, on Barnum Street, and in the rear of Mt. Pleasant Cemetery. He was twice

* Note E. † Note F.

married. His first wife was Rebecca, daughter of Ebenezer Allen, who was born at Tisbury, Dukes County, Mar. 1, 1672, and married Rebecca, daughter of Rev. Mr. Russell, of Hadley, April 4, 1698. The following memorial of the first wife of Mr. Crocker is on "the Plain": "Here lyes the body of Mrs. Rebecca Crocker, wife of the Rev. Josiah Crocker, Pastor of the Church in this town, born July 22, 1721, died Sept. 28th, 1759. Sleep, precious ashes, till thy Savior calls."

I have seen an account of Mr. Crocker's second marriage in his Family Bible, and in his own handwriting: "Attleboro', Nov. 5th. 1761. There were Josiah Crocker and Mrs. Hannah Cobb joyned together in ye solemn covenant of marriage at her Father's by ye Hon. George Leonard, Esq. May God's countenance shine upon us. Rev. Mr. Thacher made ye first prayer, and [the chirography is obscure, but looks like] gave advice. Col. Leonard declared us married according to law, and Rev. Mr. Weld made last prayer." The second Mrs. Crocker was daughter of Col. Thomas,* and sister of Hon. David Cobb, sister also of the wife of Hon. Robert Treat Paine.

Mr. Crocker's children by the first marriage were Josiah, Benjamin, Allen, Joseph, William, Ebenezer, and Rebecca. His children by the second marriage I find recorded by himself thus: "Oct. 3d, 1762, Leonard Crocker was born, about 3 o'clock, Lord's Day morning, and I baptized him ye same day. Oct. 18th, 1765, Hannah was born, and baptized by me next Lord's Day."

Of the sons, Benjamin, Allen, Ebenezer and Leonard never married. Benjamin was a schoolmaster, and sea-

* Col. Thomas Cobb married Lydia, the eldest daughter of James the son of James, the son of James, the son of Thomas Leonard.

captain. He died at Machias, Nov. 8, 1797. Ebenezer entered the army, and became a military character. Allen was a wealthy broker in Boston. Leonard was a merchant, and lived in Taunton. He owned the land at the corner of Summer and Deane Streets, including the Academy lot. His mother, Widow Hannah Crocker, lived with Leonard, after the decease of Mr. Crocker, till her removal to the house of her son-in-law, Major Bowles, in Machias.

William was well, though not liberally educated, and married —— Brown of Portland, Me. He had one child.

Joseph graduated at Harvard University in 1774, and married a daughter of Rev. Samuel Mather, S.T.D., A.A.S., of Boston.* He was captain of a company in the Revolutionary War. He died Nov. 13, 1797. Hannah married Ralph Hart Bowles, Esq., of Machias, Me., distinguished in the Revolution, of the family of Hon. John Bowles, Elder Isaac Heath and the Apostle Eliot of Roxbury. Hannah, his wife, according to the testimony of one who knew her well, "was a lady of great usefulness, many virtues, and distinguished energy of character." She died at Roxbury, July 10, 1847, aged 82, and was buried at Mount Auburn, in the lot of her son S. J. Bowles. Their son, Stephen J. Bowles, Esq., an opulent merchant of Machias and Roxbury, married Elizabeth Thorndike Wallis, whose daughter, Elizabeth Wallis Bowles married J. Wingate Thornton, Esq., of Boston; another daughter, Hannah Crocker Bowles, married Rev. Philip Wolff, of Montreal, Canada.

Another son, Leonard Crocker Bowles, who resides in Boston, married Catharine Cushing, daughter of Martin

* Two of their children, Allen and Rebecca, died unmarried. Their daughter Hannah, married a Parker. A son named Samuel Mather Crocker, graduated at Harvard University in 1801, settled as a lawyer in Uxbridge, of this State, and died the last year.

Lincoln, Esq., and grand-daughter of the late Gen. Benj. Lincoln; and their daughter Mary Elizabeth married William Crosby, of the firm of Crosby & Nichols, Boston.

Rebecca, daughter of Rev. Mr. Crocker by his first marriage, married George Stillman, of Machias, Me. Their daughter Elizabeth, married, (1) James Otis Lincoln, of Hingham; (2) Hon. James Savage of Boston.

Their daughters Sally and Rebecca married —— Hillard, the father of Hon. George S. Hillard of Boston. Their sons Allen, George and Samuel settled in Virginia. Rebecca, the mother of the above named children, died in Machias, Feb. 5, 1799.

Josiah, the eldest of Rev. Mr. Crocker's children, settled in Taunton. Born Oct. 30, 1742, Josiah married Abigail, daughter of Hon. Zephaniah Leonard.* She was born May 19, 1742, and died Oct. 23, 1800. Her husband survived her, continuing until Feb. 24, 1808. He served in the army, in the time of the Revolution, commanding a company stationed at Newport. He was also deputy-Sheriff. His house was on the lot adjoining the Taunton Hotel, where now the Library Building stands. The children of Josiah and Abigail were as follows: Abigail, who married John West, Esq. Samuel, who married (1, in 1794,) Sally, daughter of Apollos Leonard, Esq., a graduate of Yale College in 1765, a descendant of Hon. Thomas Leonard, and both Town and County Treasurer for a term of years; (2, in 1811,) Elizabeth, daughter of Doct. Wm. Baylies of Dighton. William Augustus, who

* Hon. Zephaniah Leonard was the eldest son of Stephen, the son of James, the son of James, the son of Thomas Leonard. He was Major, and in 1761, was appointed Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, which office he held till his death. His son, Col. Zephaniah, and grandson, Horatio filled the office of High Sheriff of Bristol County for more than seventy years.

married Sally, daughter of Capt. Jonathan Ingell, resided in Taunton, and died Sept. 20, 1805. His house was on the street from the Green to the Depöt, near the site of the new Congregational Church. Rebecca and Josiah, the remaining children of Josiah, the eldest son of the minister, died early.

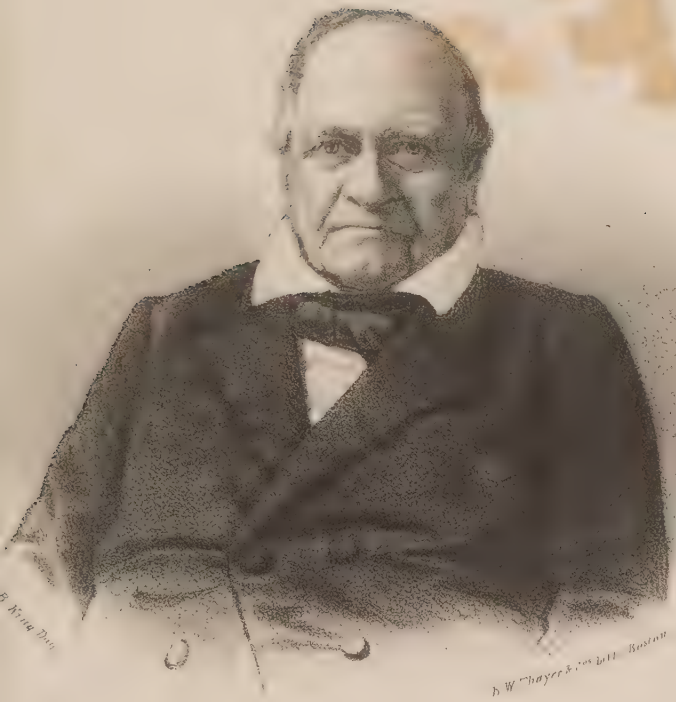
Hon. Samuel Crocker, the eldest son of Josiah, and grandson of the minister, succeeded his father-in-law, Apollos Leonard, Esq., as Town and County Treasurer, and acted in that capacity twenty-five years. He was member of the House of Representatives four years, from 1809 to 1813; a member of the Senate the same length of time from 1813 to 1817. He was also a Councillor of the Commonwealth under Gov. Brooks.* But it is more particularly as a manufacturer he has been distinguished, having been for a long course of years the senior partner of the firm, first of Crocker, Bush & Richmond,† and afterwards of Crocker & Richmond, which by its large amount of capital employed, and extensive business operations, procured for Taunton in the earlier part of this century, the reputation of being one of the largest manufacturing towns in the State.‡ To Mr. Crocker, who still

* It might be added that Mr. Crocker has been one of the earliest and most devoted friends and patrons of Bristol Academy. For more than forty years he filled the office of Trustee, and acted as its principal finanical agent.

† Thomas Bush married Mary, daughter of Samuel, son of Major Zephaniah Leonard. He died many years ago. Charles Richmond married (1) the widow of William Augustus Crocker, who was daughter of Jonathan Ingell; (2) the widow of Samuel Cooke Fales, who was daughter of John West; (3) the widow of David G. W. Cobb, who was daughter of Samuel Crocker. He died a year or two since in California.

‡ The most extensive manufacturing establishment which originated with this company, in connection with capitalists in Boston and elsewhere, was the "Calico Print Works," which date back to a period prior to anything of the kind in this country.

If to James and Henry Leonard belongs the honor of having set up in 1652 the "first bloomary" in the Plymouth colony, if not (as Dr. Fobes observes, but Wm. R. Deane in his notice of the Leonard family ques-



Sam very Truly
Sam'l Crothers

survives, belongs the honor of having originated the plan of a rural Cemetery in town, and toward this object he several years since made the donation of a valuable part of his estate, now consecrated as a burial place, and known in this community as Mount Pleasant Cemetery. Its principal eminence is called Mount Crocker. The children of Mr. Crocker are Maria, who married Thomas Bicknell; Sally, who married Samuel Bass King, Esq; Abby, who married (1) David G. W. Cobb, son of Gen. Cobb, (2) Charles Richmond. William Augustus Crocker, the second son of Josiah, and grandson of the minister, was the father of William Allen Crocker, Samuel Leonard Crocker, and George Augustus Crocker, who, under the name of Crocker & Brothers, are extensively engaged in the manufactures of the place. The first two were graduates of Brown University in 1822. William Allen married Frances Thomas. Samuel Leonard married (1) Hannah Thomas, (2) Caroline Thomas, all sisters, and daughters of Isaiah, the son of Isaiah Thomas, Esq., of Worcester. George Augustus married Helen Gordon, daughter of Dr. Gordon, recently of Taunton. He prepared himself for business in the office of his uncle, Hon. Samuel Crocker.

tions) in North America, and if through them. Taunton claims not only the earliest and best herring, but the first and best Iron Works in all the region: equally certain is it, that before a single stone was laid, or mill started in the city of Lowell, the enterprise of Crocker, Richmond and their associates, had commenced "Print Works" in the town of Taunton, which commanded a capital of half a million, employed more than three hundred men, and introduced a thousand people to the place. The Company received a Medal for their fabrics in 1826, from the "New-England Society for promoting manufactures and the mechanic arts," which was alike complimentary to them and the town.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER SEVEN.

Note A. Page 330.

Mr. Baylies in his Historical Memoirs (4th part, pp. 82, 83,) makes the following statement:

"Thomas Coram, the founder of the Foundling Hospital in the city of London, was settled at Taunton, previous to 1692; it is certain he was there but a short time afterwards. He owned a farm on the river a little below the Weir bridge, now within the limits of Berkley, where he constructed vessels probably for the Newfoundland fishery. He left Taunton in 1703. The disposition which he made of his farm exhibits a striking and characteristic trait of his benevolence and of his prejudices; he conveyed it to the vestrymen of the church of England in Boston, namely, his Excellency Joseph Dudley, his honor, Thomas Povey, Sir Charles Hobby, Francis Foxcraft, Esq., William Taylor, Esq., John Nelson, Esq., Edward Lloyd, Esq., Mr. Nicholas Roberts, Capt. Cyprian Southack, Thomas Newton, Esq., and several others, their successors, etc., in trust, "that if ever hereafter the inhabitants of the town of Taunton should be more civilized than they now are, and if they should incline to have a church of England built amongst them, or in that town, then upon the application of the inhabitants of said town, that is to say, forty rateable men of them, upon their application or petition to the said vestry, or their successors, for any suitable part of said land to build a church of England, or a school house for the use and service of said church;" the vestry were authorized to convey the whole or a part," as they should see good for their purpose."

Rev. N. T. Bent, Rector of the St. Thomas' Church of this town, in a discourse historical of that church, in 1844, gives us the date of Thomas Coram's deed, viz: "Dec. 8th, 1703." In it he is described as being "of Boston, in New-England, sometimes residing in Taunton, in the county of Bristol — shipwright." The land he conveyed, consisted of fifty-nine acres. The vestrymen of King's Chapel, Boston, sold it in 1754, to Stephen Burt, for £100; which sum of money was applied, I know not on what principle of interpreting language, not to the purpose of building a "church of England" in Taunton, but the very different purpose of "rebuilding King's Chapel," in Boston; and this notwithstanding some of "the inhabitants of Taunton" had become so far "civilized," as to "incline to have a church of England amongst them," although possibly not to the number of "forty rateable men."*

Although Coram's first donation to the Church of England in Taunton was not available, he did not forget it, but forwarded from London many valuable books, some of which remain to this day. He obtained the donation of a "Book of Common Prayer," which exhibits the following entry on its title page: "This Book of Common Prayer is given by the Right Hon.

* That there were *not* "forty," the requisite number to claim the fund, may be inferred from the document which follows, one of the papers discovered in Brig. Gen. Godfrey's house, and dated the year following the sale of Coram's land by the vestrymen of Boston:

"At a Town meeting Legally Warned & held at Taunton Publick meeting house ye 26th of August, A. D. 1755, The moderator chosen for said meeting was Samuel White, Esq.

5thly. Voted that the several persons Inhabitants of Taunton profesing themselves members of ye Church of England be exempt from paying towards ye Rev. Mr. Crocker, support as to his sallary and other ministerial Charges in said Town Respecting ye Prespeterian worship as per their application on file which is as follows:

To the Selectmen of ye Town of Taunton in ye County of Bristol in New-England. Gentlemen:

Whereas we the subscribers and members of sd Church have been assesed to ye salary or Tax of ye Revd. Mr. Crocker for many years past (the Last year only excepted) therefore we pray you would Insert our Earnest Desire in your next warrant for a Town meeting, Viz: That we your petitionours be exempted from being assesed or Taxen to ye sallary of said Mr. Crocker; and from all ministeral Charges in ye Prespeterian or Congregational way (so Called) and Considering we your

Arthur Onslow, Esq., Speaker of the Hon. House of Commons of Great Britain — one of his Majesty's most Hon. Privy Council and Treasurer of his Majesty's Navy, &c. To Thomas Coram of London, Gent. — for the use of a Church lately built at Taunton in New-England." The date of this donation was 1742. The "Church lately built" to which allusion is made, was in the westerly part of the town, not far from Oakland, and nearly opposite the birth-place of Judge Wilde. It was on "the Glebe," which by deed bearing date March 19th, 1743, was conveyed to the Wardens of the Church and their associates. "The Glebe" was purchased by subscription "for the sole benefit and profit of the Rector, for the time being of the church of St. Thomas, standing near Three mile river in Taunton." The subscribers to "the Glebe" were twenty-six, to the amount of £528, 10 shillings. Thomas Cobb was the largest donor, his subscription amounting to £120.

petitionors are at a vast Charge in ye supporting ye worship of God amongst ourselves and as in Duty Bound shall ever Pray.

Dated Taunton July 31st 1755.

James Leonard,
Joseph A. Prisbury,
James Leonord, 2d.,
Wm. Thayer, Jun.,
David Stacy,
William Hoskins, 2d.,
Thomas Baylis,
Freeman Mayberey,
Benja. his Ꝺ mark Knap,
Morgan Cobb, 2d,
Nath'll Burt,
Abraham Burt,
Ebenezer Harvey,
Thomas Burt, 2d,
James Cooper,
Sam'll Hayward,
Joseph Willis.

6lv. Voted That ye sum of nineteen pounds twelve shillings one penney Three farthings be Raised and ye same be aded to ye Town Rate this present year which sum is in full Ballance of ye account of ye profesed members of ye Church of England in sd Town and that they be exempted from being assesed in this sum of £19 12s. 1d. 3qrs, in assesing it in ye town Rate, &c.

Extracted from Taunton Town Book folio 202, &c. Examined by

JAMES WILLIAMS, Town Clerk."

The growth of the society in a little more than thirty years may be learned from the following paper, which came to light at the same time with the preceding:

"Copy of the Episcopalians as Given in & murrenites Espiscopalians in part for 1787 viz: in Taunton.

Henry Ash,
Lincoln Andrews,
Lewis Allen,
Sam'el Andrews,
Jacob Burt,
David Burt,
John Burt,
Sam'el Burt,
Edward Burt,
Ebenezer Babbit,
John Barrows,
Gustavus Adol's Baylies,
Edward Burt, Ju'r,
Ziba Babbit,
Isaac Burt, Ju'r,
Rufus Burt,
Jonathan Cobb,
Ebe'r Cobb,
Mathew Cummings,
Ebe'r Cobb, 2d,
Rufus Cobb,
Simeon Cobb,
Ephr'm Crossman,
Ebe'r Cobb, 3d,
Simeon Crosman,
Tho's Coggeshall,
Richard Caswell,
Oliver Danforth,
Oliver Dean,
Elkanah Dean,
Abisha Dean,
Richard Dean,
Timo. Foster,
Nath'el French,
Seth Garey,
Joseph Hood,
Preserved Hoskins,
Joseph Hodges,
Timo. Hodges, Ju'r,
Sam'el Hood,
David Hood, out of Town,
Joseph Jonson, Ju'r,
Joseph Ingell,
William Jonson,
Nath'el Leonard,
Abiather Leonard, 2d,
Rufus Leonard,
Nath'el Leonard, 2d,
Elijah Lincoln,
Seth Lincoln,
Lot Lincoln,
Nedebiah Lincoln,
Francis Luscombe,
Ichabod Lincoln,
Daniel Lincoln,
Isaac Lincoln,
Benjamin Leonard, 2d,
Richard Mayberry,
Wm. Murphy,
Jonathan Macomber,
Freeman Mayberry,
Ebenezer Severs,
Mary Shores,
Timothy Smith,
William Smith,
Miles Stodard,
James Seekins,
Lemuel Stacy,
Mary Presbrey,
William Presbrey,
Seth Presbrey,
John Presbrey,
Levi Presbrey,
Joseph Presbrey,
Elijah Presbrey,
Elijah Thayer,
George Tisdale,
John Townsend,
Ephraim Tisdale,
John Thresher,
Joshua Wilbore,
Benj'a Wilbore,
Ephraim Woodward,
Solomon Wilbore.
Jonathan Williams,
John Wilbore,
Ebenezer Williams,
Cornelius White,
Abijah White,
Elkanah Tisdale,—90

Murrenites.

John Porter,
Abner Pitts.

This List Given in
Dec'r 8th, 1789.—90

Elij'a Thayer, } Wardens.
Wm. Burt, }

Note B. Page 335.

The letter of Mr. Crocker to Rev. Thomas Prince of Boston, was written "November 24th, 1744," and published in "Nos. 93, &c.," of the "Christian History." It also forms the 9th section of the 5th chapter of the 4th Book of Gillies "Historical Collections," (pp. 372–381.) It is here presented in full, unamended and unabridged, as a most valuable memorial of the sixth minister of Taunton, and no unimportant part of the history of the times.

"R. D. S.—According as you desired me some time since, I here present you with some account of the late remarkable visit which the Lord hath made us by a marvellous effusion of the Spirit of Grace, in his awakening, convincing, humbling, converting, sanctifying, and comforting influences. Whatever any may say or think, I freely declare my firm belief, that the great Jehovah has been remarkably present with his people and ordinances in Taunton, in reforming his people, and in reviving and carrying on the power of religion among them ;as is plain to any, who are acquainted with things of a religious nature here ; unless their minds are blinded by infidelity and enmity, or awful and unjustifiable prejudices against the gospel, or the sovereign and free Spirit of grace, and his works of grace upon the hearts of his people. God has been with them of a truth : many have felt his power and seen his glory ; the goings of our God and King have been glorious in the assemblies of his people in this part of his vineyard. And, indeed, I can never be enough thankful to our Divine Redeemer, I can never enough adore and magnify his holy name, for the late display of his Almighty grace in the midst of this dear people ! If the reformation of one person is matter of great joy among all the real friends of religion ; what then is the reformation of the generality of a town ? If the effectual conversion of one sinner to God is matter of exceeding great joy among the angels in heaven, and among the Bridegroom's friends here upon earth ; oh, then, what matter of joy is there in heaven and earth, when numbers

are effectually converted even in one single town? Wherefore, for my own part, I desire with humility, delight, and gratitude, to acknowledge to the praise and glory of free sovereign grace, that whilst the Lord has been watering one part and another of his vineyard by the precious influences of his Spirit, in the late remarkable day of his people's visitation, he has not altogether passed us; but has wrought marvellous things in the midst of us; his right hand and his holy arm have gotten him the victory, over a number of souls among us.

Being diverted by one means and another, I have for some time delayed writing to you; but (as I think) duty and gratitude to the blessed God and our dear Lord Jesus, and likewise common justice, which we all owe to the world, and to the cause of Christ, and interests of vital godliness, in the late happy revival thereof, which has suffered so much by these among other things, viz: the repeated misrepresentations which by some seem to have been devised and industriously spread, and by others unwarily received and published abroad concerning it, as if the whole, or most thereof, was nothing but a wild scene of enthusiasm, disorder, &c., whereby even some good people, who either have not had, or have neglected to improve opportunities, impartially to examine into the nature and evidences thereof, may either have been prejudiced against, or stumbled at it; whilst others may thereby have been confirmed in their infidelity and security, and in their natural enmity against the power of godliness, and so take up with a form, or nothing in the room thereof; being frightened at, and carefully avoiding the least appearance of it, lest they should turn enthusiasts, distracted, or catch what may be looked upon by some too much the prevailing distemper of the country, &c.:—I say, these things oblige me to declare and publish the conquests and triumphs of the Almighty Redeemer, in the midst of the dear people of my charge. It is, indeed, exceeding difficult to give a just, faithful, and impartial account of what the Lord has wrought among this people in the late day of his great grace, so as not to wrong the cause and interest of pure and undefiled religion, and the

methods which a sovereign God has been pleased to take in reviving and propagating it among them, either on the one hand or on the other, either by attributing that to it which belongs not to it, but is rather of a contrary nature and tendency, or by taking that from it which belongs unto it, and is part of its real beauty and glory. But, relying upon the Lord for his gracious assistance, I shall endeavour to give a just, faithful, and impartial account of the rise and progress, nature, and effects, together with some circumstances, which have attended this work of God's grace among them: as in the sight and fear of God, before whom I expect quickly to appear and give up my account, and receive of him according to the deeds done in the body, whether they be good, or whether they be evil.

That I may, therefore, give you a clearer and juster representation of the late surprising visit of the Spirit of Grace, it will be proper to give a brief account of the state of religion among them before the late happy revival thereof. The number of families belonging to this congregation is about two hundred and seventy or eighty. And the state of religion among them before the happy revival thereof (as far as I have learned) appeared to be very dark and awful. The church was but small, considering the number of inhabitants; and deadness, dullness, formality, security, &c., too awfully abounded among them. Any who were wise virgins (as I trust there were a few) appeared to be slumbering and sleeping together with the foolish, and sinners appeared to be at ease in Zion. In a word, it is to be feared that there was but little of the life and power of godliness among them, and irreligion and immorality of one kind and another appeared awfully to increase. Tavern-hauntings, divisions, and animosities, contentions, merry meetings, and frolickings were much pursued and attended: yea, to that height of wickedness had they arrived, that (as I have been informed) they would even contrive them on the Lord's-days; and things of that nature were much the subject of their conversation upon holy time. Indeed vital and experimental godliness seemed to be almost banished from among both old and young. The holy

Sabbaths were awfully mispent by the town in general; and their conversation chiefly turned upon worldly and vain topics, and much irreverence appeared in the house of God. From whence it is something easy to form a judgment how the remainder of the week was spent; in as much as the general and prevailing bent and temper of the minds and conversation of a person or people are more or less religious and spiritual, according as they are more or less strict and conscientious in their sanctification of the holy Sabbath. As to doctrines, perhaps it did not so openly appear what were the religious principles of many of them in the time of their security, till they came to be moved and roused by the powerful influences of the Holy Ghost, which have accompanied the plain preaching of a crucified Jesus. For persons may profess to believe and esteem the self-denying doctrines taught us in the gospel of Christ; yea, they may themselves think that they really believe and esteem them, until by the powerful influences of the Holy Spirit accompanying them they are awakened and are led into some measure of an experimental acquaintance with their own hearts; and then they will find their natural unbelief of, and enmity against them; they will find their carnal hearts rising up against, and cavilling at them; yea, and come really and openly to appear against them, if the grace of God prevent not. Many may be able to bear with those doctrines of the Gospel in the theory, who cannot endure the power of them, who cannot endure to see them examplified in practice, &c., as is too evident in this day. But indeed, other doctrines prevailed: doctrines exceedingly agreeable to the natural blindness, pride, and haughtiness of human nature in this its lapsed and depraved estate; doctrines in their nature and tendency, contrary to the tenor and spirit of the Gospel, and destructive to the souls of men.

Thus had this people degenerated from the primitive piety of their ancestors; thus had they almost sunk into the very dregs of formality, irreligion, &c., and seemed, according to an human view, to be almost ripe for the signal execution of Divine vengeance upon them! but God (whose thoughts are not our

thoughts) was pleased to take this time wherein marvellously to display the unsearchable riches and adorable sovereignty of Divine grace among this people! as God will be known by the judgments which he executes, so much more will he be known by the astonishing acts of his grace among the apostate sons of men! oh, how glorious did the riches and sovereignty of Divine grace appear in visiting this backsliding and rebellious people by a plentiful effusion of the Holy Spirit, in visiting them just at such a time when they had arrived at such a degree of wickedness, and in triumphing over all their sins and vilenesses! verily, grace thus manifested and displayed eminently appears to be the grace of God, boundless like himself, infinitely surpassing the understandings of men and angels! surely God is self-moved when he shews mercy to any person or people! he loves them from himself; he loves them because he will love them; and he has compassion on them, because he will have compassion on them; so that it is neither of him that willeth nor of him that runneth, but of God that sheweth mercy! God gives not his grace to us either because we are good, or have done any good! no, verily. But he gives us his grace that we may be good and do good! it is all from infinitely free, self-moving and sovereign grace! —See Ezek. xvi. at the beginning.

But to return—The people began to be somewhat reformed by the blessing of God upon the preaching of Mr. Guild (who is since settled in the ministry in the Jerseys) and others; and before he left them there appeared to be somewhat more of a reconciliation among them in general. Now in the time of his preaching among them, the Rev. Mr. Tennent, in his journey from Boston to New Port, in March 1740–1, visited and preached to them from Matth. xi. 28. He had a considerable number of hearers, considering the shortness of the warning, and the difficulties of the season. The effects of his preaching were not deep and lasting upon the minds of many of the people, as I have understood. Some were filled with wonder, as if they had heard strange things to-day, and some were brought under concern of soul; but I have not found that it was deep and abid-

ing, excepting upon one or two. Now from about this time religious conversation increased more and more among some of the people, by the blessing of God upon the means of grace; some, at least, appeared to be more thoughtful, and to consider their ways; public exercises were attended with more apparent diligence and seriousness, &c. About this time (I think) their frolics were abandoned,* and a number of young persons formed themselves into a society for religious exercises; which societies had been neglected for a long time since. Thus there appeared to be some external reformation among many. Sometime also this summer, as I remember, one was awakened by a special dispensation of Providence, whose awakening, I hope, issued in effectual conversion.

In the beginning of August, 1741, they sent for me to come and preach with them a few Sabbaths upon probation; and I accordingly engaged with them for two or three. I went and preached my first sermon to them upon August 16th. I found that the people generally attended the public worship with some measure of heedfulness and seriousness. They were much reformed in this respect. Some as I remember were affected. I also heard of some who were under more concern of mind than they used to be; but I then observed but very little appearance of vital and experimental religion among them, though indeed my observation was short and narrow. One Sabbath evening, I visited, exhorted and prayed with the before-mentioned society of young persons: and they seemed to be seriously affected and concerned, though not under deep and clear spiritual convictions as I could learn. About this time, by rumours of religious stir and commotion abroad, and especially at Bridgewater, many of them were probably stirred up to talk more about these things, some for and some against them. At length the church came to a choice of me for their pastor. And about this time

* And here observe, that as soon as the great truths of our most holy religion, and the great concern of our souls and another world are seriously thought of and laid to heart, these cursed frolics and merry meetings—those nurseries of impieties and debaucheries — are abandoned by us.

hearing how religion flourished in many places in Connecticut, (though indeed I was sometimes stumbled at some things which I heard reported from thence concerning some part of their conduct, yet I believed there was a glorious remarkable work of God's grace revived and carrying on among the people there, and also in some other places in the land, and hope I was in some measure enabled to rejoice therein,) I had some sense of the awful state of religion in Taunton; and on a particular time especially filled with distress on that account, together with earnest desires that God would also visit them with his special grace, that he would revive and propagate the power of godliness among them, and had some hopes raised in me that he would. After this, sometime in October, the Rev. Mr. Daniel Rogers, having been preaching at other places, came and preached a sermon at Raynham, a town adjoining to this. I was there, with some of this people, and heard him. There appeared to me to be a savour of the Holy Spirit in his ministrations, which made me desirous that he should preach here also. Accordingly I invited him to go home and preach a lecture for me the next day in the forenoon, to which he consented, and notice thereof was given among the people as generally as might be. People began now to be more swift to hear, and there was a considerable number attended the lecture, with some from other neighboring towns. There were some who came from Middleborough, West Precinct, who being awakened before, appeared to be under clear and deep spiritual convictions of their sin and danger, and in great distress and agony of soul; therefore, whom Mr. Rogers observing, he spake to them, as I remember. I also spake to the people, desiring them not to be affrighted or disturbed in their attention by these convinced and distressed persons, their agonies and groanings. Having observed these things to the people (because they had never seen the like before) he proceeded. And he gave us a sermon from John v. 40. His discourse appeared to be very spiritual, and, I trust, was attended by the power of the Holy Ghost. In his discourse, he opened to us and confirmed the state of legal and spiritual

death, wherein all mankind naturally lie, as is implied in the text: he, moreover, shewed us what that life was for which we were to come to Christ, as it consists in a freedom from condemnation, and in a conformity to the moral and communicable excellencies of the blessed God: he also mentioned some of those reasons why sinners will not come to Christ, or believe on him that they might live, &c. He applied his discourse; urging upon sinners the absolute necessity of coming to Christ, or believing on his name, that those which were naturally dead in trespasses and sins, might live a life of justification and sanctification, &c. A solemn and awful seriousness appeared among the people, and those before-mentioned, who came from the Precinct, appeared to be in awful distress and anguish of soul, &c.

The Rev. Mr. Wheelock of Lebanon having preached at Norton (a town adjoining) on the same day, and, after exercise was over, being invited by one of our deacons, came to Taunton; he appointed to preach a lecture at the meeting-house the next day. Before meeting he sent for me, but I being out of town, at the time appointed he went to lecture, and preached to a considerable number of people, from Mark xvi. 16. In his sermon, among other things, as I have been informed, he opened the nature of gospel faith; gave some marks and evidences of it; shewed the awful danger of a state of unbelief, &c. A considerable number, as I was informed were awakened and pricked in their hearts under his preaching: some were constrained to cry out, their convictions of sin, and of their exposedness to the immediate and actual execution of the Divine anger upon them being so sudden and piercing. The first who manifested their distress, by crying out this day, and indeed the first who did so of this people, had been much stumbled at the religious distresses expressed in our cries, &c., which she had heard of from abroad. The reports which she had heard, together with what people said to her at home, tended much to prejudice her against these things. She said, she was brought to think that it was an evil spirit or a sort of enchantment which caused them. However, when she heard that the Rev. Mr.

Wheelock was come to town, and was to preach a lecture in the meeting-house; notwithstanding the prejudices which were raised in her mind against these things, she was resolved to go and hear him if she could. Accordingly she went; and as she was going, she says, she secretly wished, that if these things were right, she might partake in them. (Here observe that she had for some time been under some concern, but not under any clear distinct spiritual convictions, as I could learn of her.) Accordingly, in sermon-time her eyes were immediately opened to see her guilt and danger: and it appeared to be all blackness and darkness unto her: so that she knew not which way to turn, that she might escape the wrath of God, which she saw hanging over her. She says that she had a sort of knowledge and belief that Christ was able to save her, but durst not believe in him, being such a sinner. She was afraid of going to hell every moment, as she deserved; but yet had a secret hope kept alive in her soul, in all her distress, that it might be God would have mercy on her, &c. On the Sabbath after she was very much distressed, especially in the afternoon, trembling under the word; distressed under conviction of sin and awful apprehensions of the wrath of God due to her for sin. After the exercise was over, she came to Mr. Wheelock, as he stood out of the doors, inquiring what she should do, &c. Her distress and anguish of soul because of her sin and danger continued with many awful temptations, as she says, till the Sabbath se'ennight; when being at meeting in the afternoon, she thought she had Christ discovered to her by some passages in the sermon. Upon which discovery, she says her distress was all removed immediately: "I saw (says she) Christ was a complete Saviour; just such an one as I would have chosen, were I to choose a thousand times. Oh, then, I thought I should have lived a heaven upon earth for the time to come; a blessed life indeed! My sins seemed to be subdued and gone. After this I was not angry and fretful under crosses and oppositions as I used to be before." But, by and by, she finds her corruptions stirring in her; complains of them, says she is burdened with them, hopes she hates sin, her heart-

sins, and longs after purity in heart and life. She is examining herself, and inquiring lest she should be deceived; though at the first illumination she thought herself sure, she still has her ebbings and flowings; her light and her dark hours; sometimes distressed, at other times rejoicing, &c. She appears to live like a Christian for all that I have heard: God alone knows and searches the heart! One also received comfort this day, (who had been under more or less concern of soul for some time before,) breaking forth in the language of the spouse, Cant. ii. 8. She appears to walk answerably, and to have her conversation as becomes the Gospel; to live near to God. A far greater number, who seemed to be seriously concerned and distressed, did not manifest their distresses in such public manner; whilst some perhaps were inquiring what these things meant. There was also a word of exhortation given by a young candidate, after Mr. Wheelock was gone. Upon the whole, I do verily believe, that this day was a day wherein God remarkably displayed his power and grace in the assembly of his people here.

Upon my coming home that evening, and hearing what the Lord had done among this people the day past, my thoughts were fixed upon Rev. iii. 20, first clause (although I had designed to have preached from another text I had wrote from.) Accordingly, I minuted down some thoughts that evening, and hope had the gracious assistance of the Holy Ghost. The subject appeared to me to be seasonable; it being a time in which the glorious Redeemer was remarkably knocking at the doors of sinners' hearts, in this town, for admittance and entertainment. I think, indeed, it is my duty to study my sermons as well as I am able, and to labour to feel the power of them upon my own heart before I deliver them to the people; yet I believe ministers may sometimes be called in Providence to preach when they have not had an opportunity for such preparatory studies as might be their duty at other times, and then they may humbly look up to the Holy Spirit for, and expect his gracious assistance answerable to their necessities. And as ministers should

be co-workers with God; so, with humility, do I desire to say, that I would always endeavour carefully to observe the particular frames of my people, the particular dispensations of Providence they may be called to pass under, times of any special and remarkable visitation from the Spirit of grace; the truths which, through grace, I may at any time find peculiar light, liberty, strength, sweetness and refreshment in feeding upon, and adapt my discourses accordingly. The next day (which was the Lord's-day) I went to meeting, and preached to a large, serious, and attentive assembly. I have reason to believe that some were under spiritual and scriptural convictions of their sin and misery, and under deep and serious concern of soul, others, who, I believe, were under more than usual thoughtfulness and concern of mind, either from what they had seen or heard, or from both, might perhaps still be enquiring what these things meant. In my sermon, among other things, I endeavoured to speak to sinners of the astonishing grace and condescension of the dear Lord Jesus in knocking at the door of their hearts for admittance and entertainment; of their own particular and great concernment therein; that now was the day of Christ's patience with them, which would quickly be over unless they opened to him; that sinners' hearts were naturally barred and bolted against the Lord Jesus; mentioning some of those bars and bolts which kept Christ out of their hearts, and which must be removed if ever he came in; shewed them what it was to open to Christ; and improved the discourse, giving them some rules and marks of trial, whereby they might examine themselves, whether they had opened to Christ, yea or nay, and applied it as closely and pathetically to saints and sinners, according to their particular concernments therein, as I could.

The word was attended with power, and some were pricked in their hearts by it, as I afterwards learned. Though indeed I observed no visible manifestations of their conviction of their sin and distress of mind in the time of public exercise, other than an awful concern and solemnity which was evident in most or all of their countenances. I think I never saw such an as-

sembly before: such awful reverence, such serious concern of mind, under the Word. Let all the praise and honour be given to the God of all grace, whose glory filled the temple, and the power of whose Word most or all felt in a greater or less degree this day! I desire not to speak of these things, and others of the like nature which may hereafter be mentioned, that either I or others may have whereof to glory save in the Lord, who was pleased to magnify his grace and strength in the weakness of the instrument! Oh, may I continually be humbled and broken under the workings of latent pride, &c. May I forever be made and kept humble under a spiritual conviction of my own nothingness, vileness, and unworthiness, and be enabled to give the God of all grace all the honour and glory of anything he has been pleased, or may still be pleased, to work in me, by me, or for me. It is the plain preaching of the Gospel of a crucified Jesus, not with words and reasonings which man's wisdom teacheth, but which the Holy Ghost teacheth, that God has been pleased to honour and bless in the late remarkable day of his people's visitation in this town, and in other places so far as I have been acquainted with them.

At noon I went to my usual place of retirement. Some of the people came to the house also, and appeared to be under concern of mind. I gave them a word of exhortation, and hope it was not in vain. About this time, nothing which was said to people seemed in vain. In the afternoon, at the usual time, I went to meeting, and Mr. Wheelock preached to a crowded assembly, from Job xxvii. 8. In his sermon, he endeavoured to detect the hypocrite; to shew how far a person might go, what he might do, and what he might experience, and, nevertheless, be nought but a very hypocrite; to represent to them the awful danger and folly of hypocrisy, &c., to urge it upon them that they would be willing to know themselves before it was too late; that whatever they might gain by their hypocrisy in this world, as credit among men, &c., would be all lost in that day, when God should take away their souls, and they be stripped and stand naked before the enlightened and awful tribunal of a holy God,

to their everlasting shame and contempt, &c. His sermon was close, searching, experimental, awful, and awakening. The visible effects of it upon the people were an awful concern and solemnity which appeared in their countenances in general, and one or two trembled under it. Surely God was with him; he appeared to speak of spiritual and divine things as awful realities. Many I doubt not could witness to the truth of his sermon, by finding their hearts discovered and read to them therein. The kingdom of darkness trembled, I trust, before the Gospel of Christ, dispensed by this his dear servant. He appointed to preach another sermon after a small intermission, and accordingly did. Many of this people tarried to hear him. He preached from Hosea xiii. 13. He opened the connection and the text itself, and then observed, that inasmuch as he was about to leave them on the morrow, and there were a number under convictions, he would point out some things which were oftentimes means of hindering person's convictions from issuing in conversion. Accordingly, he mentioned some of them; as the world, and putting off convictions till a more convenient season, &c. He gave some account of the various workings and lustings of the sinner's heart whilst under convictions towards forbidden objects, towards false resting-places. He was delivering his discourse very pleasantly and moderately; but, oh, an uncreated power and authority accompanied it, a power and authority too big, awful, and majestic, for any creature; it was the voice of God which is powerful and full of majesty! The great Comforter, whose office it is to convince the world of sin, of righteousness, and of judgment, to teach his disciples all things, and bring all things to their remembrance, accompanied the Word with his almighty and efficacious grace! Oh, it discovered the secrets of men's hearts to them with irresistible energy, light and evidence! Indeed, he spake in the demonstration of the Spirit, and with power, so that one must say, God was with him of a truth! By and by, some began to cry out both above and below in awful distress and anguish of soul: upon which he raised his voice, that he might be heard above

their outcries; but the distress and outcry spreading and increasing, his voice was at length so drowned that he could not be heard. Wherefore, not being able to finish his sermon, with great apparent serenity and calmness of soul (having mentioned it to me) he called to the distressed, and desired them to gather themselves together in the body of seats below. This he did that he might with more conveniency converse with them, counsel, direct, exhort them, &c. Oh, how were sinners in Zion afraid! How did fearfulness surprise the hypocrite! Whilst they saw their state, and saw no way opened to them, how they could dwell with the devouring fire, how they could inhabit with the everlasting burnings, whilst they saw no way how they could approach unto the holy and jealous God! Oh, the distress and anguish of their souls! Oh, the pains that were upon them, like as of a woman in travail; whilst they saw their just deserts at the hands of the great God; whilst they knew not but what, yea, were awfully afraid lest, they must eternally dwell with devils and damned souls in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone, and bear the fury of God, with whom now they saw was terrible majesty! Seeing somewhat of the awfulness of hell, and that they deserved it; seeing also that nothing but the mere uncovenanted good pleasure of God, who was very angry with them, kept them out of hell every moment: no wonder that they cried out, they should go to hell, they were going to hell, "What shall we do to be saved?" &c.

Mr. Wheelock left the people generally, if not universally, impressed with a serious and awful sense of invisible realities; conversing about the important concerns of their immortal souls; searching into their state towards God; fearing, complaining, and inquiring what they should do; longing after the word and ordinances. In a word, their thoughts seemed almost wholly taken up about the great things of another world, endeavouring in all appointed means to secure the one thing needful. I found a few who had received comfort; and many others appeared to have such deep convictions of their sinful condemned state by nature, and such awful apprehensions of the anger of God due

to them for sin, that they seemed like persons who had received a sentence of death, and had a gloominess overspreading all their worldly enjoyments which they had so inordinately placed their affections upon and eagerly pursued after. They seemed struck with amazement at their danger, and the awfulness of a Christless state, and their past blindness and stupidity therein, and were seeking after Jesus, after pardon, acceptance, &c.

This morning I, with the Rev. Mr. Wales, went to Middleborough first precinct, to a stated lecture, where there was a sermon delivered. The sermon was plain, searching, awful. Its chief tendency was to discover the danger of a Christless state — to open and explain the Gospel-way of salvation by Jesus Christ — to show them that now was the day of Christ's patience with them — to give some characters of those who had opened to, or believed in Christ, and to invite and beseech all to open to or believe in Christ, that they might be saved. There was a plentiful shower of Divine grace which fell upon the assembly. Numbers had their sins set in order before their eyes, having the sins of their lives, and the plague of their hearts discovered to them, fearing, trembling, complaining, and enquiring, what they should do to be saved. They seemed, from their natural legal spirit, ready to catch hold of anything that they might be delivered from the wrath which is to come, and to be opposite to submitting to the righteousness of God, as all natural men are. Numbers, yea, even some young persons, had such discoveries of their sin and misery by nature, as could be given them by none save the Holy Ghost, whose office it is to convince of sin. Indeed, almost the whole assembly appeared to be impressed with a serious concern for the salvation of their souls; but some had clearer and deeper convictions than others, &c. O, how feelingly did they speak and complain of their sins, especially the sins of their nature, such as pride, &c. Oh, how earnest and solicitous were they in their inquiries after Jesus Christ, and an interest in him. How did they fear lest they should fall short of Christ; lest their convictions should wear off, &c. We tarried after the exercise was over, some time with them in the

meeting-house, that we might converse and pray with them. We left them that evening, and returned home.

The spiritual concern still remained upon the minds of this people, and increased, if anything. There were presently several societies of young persons formed in town for prayer, reading God's Word and good books, singing God's praises, and some or all of them agreed to meet twice a week statedly, besides other occasional meetings, lectures, public and private. There were also in a little time one or two family meetings set up in town for religious exercises. I found little, if any, open opposition as yet among the people; though afterwards the religious concern among some of the people wearing off, or at least abating, they began to stumble at and oppose more freely and openly these appearances.

On Friday, being desired by the negroes, I preached to them, with many others that attended at my lodgings, from Rom. viii. 1, "There is no condemnation to them that are in Christ Jesus." In my sermon, I endeavoured to open and confirm the state of condemnation in which all mankind naturally lie; to open the way provided for the salvation of sinners by God, and exhibited to them in the Gospel, viz: through the righteousness of Christ imputed to them and received by faith alone; to show them the safety and happiness of those that were in Christ by faith, and the sin and misery of those who were unbelievers, and in a state of condemnation, &c.; to give some marks and characters of believers; and to urge upon sinners to give themselves no rest until they had secured an interest in the righteousness of Christ, by a faith of God's operation. We had a crowded assembly, and much of the gracious presence of God. The whole assembly seemed to be under the influences of the Holy Spirit. They appeared to come and hear the Word, in some measure convinced of the great necessity they were under of securing an interest in Christ. They appeared not to be careless hearers, but to hunger after the Word; looking and waiting critically and earnestly for a word suited to their particular cases, and waiting for the power of the Holy Ghost to accompa-

ny and make it effectual for their salvation. Some were under consolation, joying and rejoicing, and appeared to be filled with love to a precious Christ, and to all men, especially those who they hoped were of the household of faith, for Christ's sake. Others appeared to be in deep distress for sin, and for fear of the wrath to come, enquiring what they should do? Now Sabbaths were prized and seriously regarded. More or less of the power of God accompanied the public and private assemblies of his people. There was often much of the Divine presence with them in their private meetings, when they had preaching, and also when they had not. I could and did preach frequently with the people. They appeared to be swift to hear, especially young people — they seemed to hear as for their lives. They were wakeful, serious, reverent and attentive in God's house; and gladly embraced opportunities of hearing his word. Oh, it is sweet preaching when people are desirous of hearing! sweet feeding the flock of Christ, when they have so good an appetite; yea, sweet seeing it fed, if one is not permitted to feed it. In those days surely the Word of the Lord was precious; many, like new born babes, desiring the sincere milk of the Word, that they might grow thereby. Their merry meetings were turned into praying and singing assemblies; their vain, foolish, and frothy conversation into religious and experimental discourse. When people occasionally visited one another, or providentially met together, their conversation turned on religious topics. When I visited them, or they me, they would be conversing about religion, and asking serious and important questions about their souls; about doctrinal and experimental religion. What a wonderful reformation was there in this town! it is impossible fully to describe it. Moreover, I labour under some peculiar disadvantages, so that I cannot give so full and particular an account of things of a religious nature, especially in the time of the greatest outpouring of the Holy Spirit, as otherwise I might have done: being but a stranger among and unacquainted with them, and not committing particular accounts of things to writing in the time of them; and, labouring under

many perplexities, particularly awful spiritual darkness, desertion, and temptation, for the most of that fall and winter; my memory also being impaired thereby. Indeed, it was a wonder of the power and the grace of God, that I was carried through the service I was called unto.

Sometime in November, on the Sabbath, I preached to a full assembly. There appeared to be an awful concern continuing upon the minds of the people in general; though I feared not so great as had been; and was fearing lest God was about to depart from us; but, when the afternoon exercise was over, some were in great anguish of soul. Being obliged to set out on a journey the next day, I appointed to preach another sermon at the meeting-house in the evening. Accordingly, at the time appointed I returned to the meeting-house, and found that many were in great distress. I preached to a considerably large assembly, from Rom. viii. 1. Many among the assembly were deeply affected, groaning and sobbing; though not as to disturb the people or hinder them from hearing, as I remember. After the exercise was concluded, the distress among the people appeared greater; many groaning or crying out, complaining of their sins and danger, of their blindness, hard-heartedness, &c.; a great weeping and mourning. The whole assembly, old and young, seemed to be concerned in a greater or less degree; though, indeed, some were rejoicing in Christ, in hopes of their interest in him, and also to see others in distress, for their miserable and sinful state by nature; because of the reasons of it, and because they hoped it would issue well. I prayed several times with the people, and exhorted them, &c. I conversed particularly with many young and old, as they were brought to me. We tarried in the meeting-house till nine of the clock, for what I know, and then retired. It was, indeed, a wonderful evening of the outpouring of the Spirit, as a Spirit of grace and supplication upon his people.

In the time of my absence there was a stated monthly lecture among this people, preached by the Rev. Mr. Tobey, of Berkley. I heard that God was graciously present. Upon my re-

turn the next week, or the week after, as I remember, (having supplied the pulpit in my absence,) I found people were stumbling at these things and more openly cavilling, and I found more disputing, &c., which was a disservice to the work of God, as it grieved the Holy Spirit, and kept people more from conversing with their own hearts.

I continued preaching and conversing among them until the the latter end of January. But difficulties arising and increasing about my settlement, and more appearing openly against me; being sent for by a relation of mine, I went to Ipswich to take his advice. Upon my coming to Ipswich and conversing with him, he said he would go to Taunton and preach for me a fortnight or three weeks, and see how things were circumstanced there, and I should tarry and supply a winter parish which he had the charge of. Accordingly I consented. But I was detained much longer from Taunton than I expected by reason of the difficulties of the season; so that it was towards the latter end of March when I returned to Taunton. Here I would just observe, that in this time I had opportunity to see much of the glorious work of God's grace which he was carrying on at Ipswich and other places at the eastward. And surely there was a remarkable and plentiful outpouring of the Holy Spirit there. Upon my return to Taunton, I found the religious concern upon people not to be so great in general as it was when I left them, as I could learn: though the people in general appeared still to be serious and thoughtful, to be seeking to secure the one thing needful. The preached Gospel was fully attended, especially on the Lord's-day, and attended with general seriousness, concern, and a seeming appetite. Things remained much the same until May 19th, 1742, upon which day I was solemnly ordained to the pastoral office over them. Since that, there have been several times of refreshing, and some revival of God's work. Several sacramental occasions have been special seasons of refreshment to the people of God; especially the first sacrament I administered, I believe was a sweet and soul-reviving feast to many souls; many I believe were brought into Christ's ban-

queting-house : his banner over them was love. Also, at a catechising of the children (after I had catechised them) I discoursed to them from Prov. viii. 17, and in as familiar a manner as I was capable, taught them the love of God to those who love him, and urged the necessity and advantage of early piety. Some of them were affected while I was discoursing, and in prayer their distress increased. After which several cried out in great distress of mind. They complained of fears of hell, want of love to God, and that though Christ was willing, they were unwilling, &c. I spake scarce any terrible words to them, choosing rather a soft and gentle method of treating them. I spake little of hell and damnation ; but chiefly of the love of God, his readiness to receive little children, the advantages of loving him. Their concern appeared not to proceed from an affrightment but from a conviction of sin ; though it is to be feared that their convictions have not issued savingly. And as to some, perhaps the unkind neglects, if not discouragements of their parents, have had an awful influence in their losing of their convictions. Nevertheless, in the general, people have been growing more cold, dull, and lifeless in religion. There have been but few hopeful conversions since my ordination, the most who were brought home having been brought home in the fall and winter. So that generally speaking, there has been an awful withdrawal of the Divine influence both from saints and sinners. An occasion of which might be the disputes about my ordination, and also for and against these things ; as also false reports and prejudices thereby raised in the minds of people ; whereby the Holy Spirit was grieved, and the spiritual concern of many abated. Some of our private meetings have come to nothing, though others are still attended. Many who have been under the divine influences have fallen away, and some I fear are more blinded and hardened than ever, cavilling and mocking. Some still remain under convictions. Some, it is to be feared, who have reformed and returned, have not returned to the Most High, but to some refuge of lies. Others in a judgment of charity, have experienced a saving and thorough work.

Some few who were professors, I trust, have been plucked from their false foundations, and have been savingly converted to God. An hundred and two have joined in full communion with this church, though none lately. A few others of this people in the time of the vacancy (who have been wrought upon in this day of God's great grace) joined in full communion with other churches. Three or four have renewed baptismal covenant. Three or four more have been baptized. So that upon the whole it is evident to the glory of the God of all grace, that there has been a remarkable shower of divine grace among this people; the Holy Spirit has been poured out in his common and special influences upon them; the most or all of them have first or last been under serious concern of soul and searchings of heart.

Thus I have given you some general and imperfect account of what the Lord has wrought among this people in the late day of his great grace. But, before I conclude my account, I beg leave to speak more particularly to some things, viz., before the Lord wrought in such a marvellous manner among this people, some of them had, by degrees, been brought to be more serious and thoughtful, and to consider their ways, (as I have before observed) which in some sort prepared them for such a surprising visit from the Spirit of grace, as they were thereby excited to give the most diligent heed to the things which were spoken to them in the name of the Lord. The late work among this people, I am fully persuaded (according to the best judgment I am capable of forming of things of this nature both from Scripture and reason) is the same as to its essence and substance, which has been in all ages in the application of the purchased redemption to the souls of sinners by the supernatural and almighty operations of the Holy Ghost. Though it has been attended with some circumstances which have not been so common. The Holy Spirit has acted like himself with a sovereign freedom as to the suddenness of his opening the eyes of secure sinners, and letting them into a knowledge of their sin, misery, and danger by nature; some being led into the knowl-

edge of their sin and misery more gradually than others. As to the measure and degrees of their conviction of sin and wrath; some having clearer and more awful convictions thereof than others. As to the length of time; some remaining longer under a spirit of bondage than others. And so as to the degrees of consolation he gave them upon their flying for refuge to Jesus Christ; some having stronger consolation than others, &c. But they say they were convinced of their sins, original and actual; had their sins set in order before their eyes in a clear and convincing light, with particular application; were convinced of the plague of their hearts, of their blindness, pride, self-righteousness, enmity, opposition to God's sovereignty, and the way of life by Jesus Christ, unbelief, &c., of their being under the wrath and curse of Almighty God, and being continually exposed to the immediate and actual execution thereof upon them in hell; of their utter inability to deliver themselves from this wretched estate; of their lost and undone estate in and of themselves, their duties, tears, repentings, &c., and being convinced of God's righteousness, though he should cast them off for ever for all they had done or could do; having their way hedged up, and being brought into the wilderness, they were brought to God's sovereignty with an "Who knows but God may be gracious," &c. Upon their submission they felt a calmness in their souls, having done with quarrelling and disputing with the justice of God. Upon this, they say, they had a discovery of Christ, and the new-covenant way of life in and through him; saw his glory, all-sufficiency, suitableness, and readiness to save even the chief of sinners, according to the Gospel; (these discoveries were generally given them in and with some texts of Scripture: or if they had no text of Scripture as they remember at first, there immediately came many flowing in upon their minds) had their hearts sweetly and freely drawn out to receive Christ, and rest upon him, and him alone, for salvation, according to the Gospel; being brought to renounce all self or creature dependencies, accounting their own righteousness as filthy rags, they were brought to joy and delight themselves in Christ,

and in his whole salvation; found peace of conscience, and joy in the Holy Ghost, according to the measure of their knowledge of and faith in Christ, and the new covenant way of life in and through him; had their mouths filled with praises of Christ, glorifying him, commending him to others; had their love drawn out to God and to all mankind, but especially to those who they thought belonged to the household of faith, for God's-sake — loving and forgiving their enemies, being filled with a concern for the salvation of precious and immortal souls, mourning for and hating sin as against God, and as dishonourable to him.

Some, who we charitably hope are really converted to God, do not give so clear and distinct an account as some others: some passing through more temptations and exercises than others; some perhaps not so distinctly observing or not remembering the various steps of the Holy Ghost upon their minds as others, &c. But yet their accounts agree in the essential parts. They were brought to see themselves sinners, and lost in themselves: to see their natural impotence and enmity; see God's righteousness though he should cast them off for ever; brought to submit to God's sovereignty; had the way of salvation opened up to them; brought to renounce all confidence in themselves, and rejoice in Christ Jesus. Most of those who have been wrought upon were young, and had been very ignorant; and, therefore, they scarce knew how to express their conceptions of spiritual and divine truths, so as properly to convey their own sense of things to others; and did one but captiously converse with and examine some of them (without making due allowances) one might gather strange accounts from them, though they might intend honestly and orthodoxly. And, perhaps, some of those frightful accounts which are told of abroad concerning some of the subjects of this work have their rise here. Some give such a clear and distinct account of the work of the Holy Spirit upon their hearts as a spirit of bondage, and a spirit of adoption, enabling them to cry, Abba, Father, and of their after experience, &c., that they even command our charity; others

leave me in more suspense; and others, for all the account they gave of their experiences, give awful grounds to conclude that they had but a common work. But God is the searcher and judge of hearts; yet there is a judgment of charity, we may, and, upon some occasions, ought to form concerning the states of others. When I find a person habitually and visibly sinful in his life and conversation, or ignorant of the internal operations of the Holy Spirit on his heart, I do not look upon it to be a breach of charity to fear, or conclude that he is unconverted, and in a proper manner to tell him so. "By their fruits ye shall know them," says Christ. And I believe much of the rash judgment wherewith the subjects of this work have been accused and branded about the country, has been only such a judging as this. Not but that there has been too much rash and unreasonable judging of persons interior state. Those who I charitably hope have experienced a saving change among this people having been generally very ignorant, and being but babes in Christ, having but little experience in the spiritual and divine life, having their affections much raised and inflamed with a new glorious and ravishing view of spiritual and divine things, no wonder that at first they might, some of them at least, be carried out too rashly and unseasonably to judge the interior state of others who were not in their frames, or especially if they appeared luke-warm and indifferent in the present day, or to speak against these things. But, further experience teaches them their absolute inequality for such an important work as infallibly to judge the interior state of others, and may, and does so more and more. But some of their judging was only a judging those who were visibly irreligious, or unacquainted with the internal operations of the Holy Spirit — arising from a love to their souls, though they may not always have acted with that wisdom herein as might be desired. But do you expect children to act like men?

As for the character of those who have been savingly wrought upon in this day,— some were openly vile and profligate, others moralists, and others formalists. If you now inquire into the

reasons and grounds of the terrors and distresses of those amongst us ;— those I have conversed with, say, they had their eyes opened to see their sin and misery, their lost and undone estate by nature, &c., agreeable to the Scriptures, as far as I am capable of judging. If you inquire into the grounds and reasons of the joys of many among us, they say they were from discoveries of the all-sufficiency, suitableness, and readiness of Christ to save even the chief of sinners; they beheld the transcendant glory and excellency of Christ, and were constrained to joy and rejoice in him; the dying love of Christ, the glory, excellency, and safety of the way of salvation by Christ: a gospel-hope and persuasion of their deliverance from hell, from the guilt and spiritual defilement of sin through Jesus Christ, of their living a life of communion and fellowship here, by faith, with the Father and his Son, Jesus Christ, and of the everlasting vision and fruition of God in the coming world, &c. These are some of those grounds which they give me of their joys, &c. Oh, how feelingly and experimentally do they sometimes speak of precious Christ! How do they exalt, admire, and adore him! How do they commend him to others! As to outcries, &c., I would observe that they might be occasioned by one of these things : — either by the suddenness of the discovery of divine things; or the clearness and greatness of the discovery; or their particular constitutions; or by these several things coöperating. And I verily believe, from particular conversation with many of them, that the distresses and joys of most, if not of all those who cried out, &c., as well as the distresses and joys of others, arose from a scriptural representation of truth to their understanding, and the application thereof to their own consciences. Many, or most of whom, I hope, were converted, &c., did not manifest either their distress or consolation by outcries.

But what fruit of all these things? Why, a choosing and esteeming God's laws as holy, just and good, and delighting in them according to the inward man; accounting Christ's yoke easy, and his burden light; accounting wisdom's ways, ways of

pleasantness, and all her paths peaceful; as new-born babes desiring the sincere milk of the Word, that they may grow thereby; searching and delighting in the Scriptures, and in such books as are the most searching, and experimental, and awakening; longing for, and attending upon ordinances, and hungering and thirsting after communion with God in them, delighting in Sabbaths, and endeavoring to sanctify the Lord God in their hearts; examining and trying themselves by the Scriptures, and by what the most searching and experimental authors have written upon that subject; restitution made to any they have wronged; prayerless persons turned prayerful; the swearer fearing and reverencing that great and dreadful name, the LORD our GOD; the thief honest; the merry and jolly turned grave and sober; the dull formalists made spiritual, and breathing after communion with God in ordinances. As far as I can learn, they are seeking after knowledge in the use of all appointed means: they are thirsting after a speculative and experimental knowledge of such doctrines as cast contempt upon the natural pride and haughtiness of man, and exalt free grace; setting the crown on the head of the Lord Jesus Christ, where God has placed it.

And though many, who were awakened, have fallen away to their former security; yet what wonder is it? is it anything new? or what might not have been expected? Is this, therefore, a reason for concluding, that either those who were not under scriptural convictions, or that others have not been converted? And though, further, a few that received joy and comfort gave awful proof that they never experienced a saving change, and even some that made a public profession of Christ give awful grounds to fear lest they are strangers to him, yet are these things so strange and unheard of as to give warrant to conclude that none of them are any better? There are, and have ever been hypocrites, and stony-ground hearers in the Church: and shall we act agreeably to Scripture or reason if we say that therefore none are sincere? Indeed, there is abundant reason to bless God, that so few of the professed subjects

of this work appear to apostatize in proportion to the great numbers who give all the evidences of a supernatural and abiding change that we can reasonably expect. And though two, as I remember, for a few hours, whilst under convictions of sin and wrath, were so overpowered as to lose the free exercise of reason; yet is this so anti-scriptural, as to warrant us to conclude the persons were not under the convictions of the Holy Spirit, though distracted by Divine terrors, as Heman was? And tho' I believe, some have been tinctured with enthusiasm, which, I believe, they are come or coming off from, as they grow more experienced; yet is it at all wonderful that true Christians should be thus tinctured, when we consider the remaining darkness of their understandings, the malice and subtlety of Satan, with our natural proneness to run from one extreme to another? As to what has been reported of the subjects of this work, that they neglect their secular business by going to so many meetings, I would say, it has not been so with us; but they have generally, and I know not but universally, worked as much or more than ever, and with more cheerfulness and delight, and, I trust, some of them from Gospel principles. They have, indeed, been more conversant in the duties of religion, but they have redeemed their time for these purposes from idleness, tavern-hauntings, frolics, merry-meetings, and vain conversation; and where is the harm of this to the Church or commonwealth? Indeed, some, whilst under great convictions, or strong consolation, might, and I believe did, in some measure neglect their business; but what wonder of this? I would observe here, that for all the cry there may have been about so many meetings of late years, as if such and such places or persons would be undone, God has been pleased to load us abundantly with his benefits—to give us great or greater plenty of provision these few years past than ever. As for what is reported about divisions being occasioned by this work, I would say, it has been, I believe, the accidental cause thereof, which, I think, is no just ground of prejudice against it. It cannot be expected that the power of godliness should flourish in such a degree as

it has done, and not be opposed by the devil and the lusts of men. But the doctrines insisted on and blessed here in carrying on this work have no other than an accidental tendency to create divisions; the subjects of the work, and such as appear friendly to it, are united by these things.

To sum up all in a word: —There are many things reported of the subjects of this work, about their imprudencies, irregularities, &c., some of which are false or gross misrepresentations, or charging those things upon all which some pretended ones are guilty of; or may, I think, be accounted for, by considering either, that many appear friendly to this work who are unconverted, or that those who are converted are in a state of imperfection. But if persons will receive none as Christians, or as under a Divine influence, except such as they can see no fault in, where will they find any Christians in their esteem then upon earth. And now, if, after the account I have endeavored to give of the revival and progress of a work of God among this people in the late day of his great grace, any reject it for a wild scene of enthusiasm, give me leave to ask, "What true religion is, and where we shall find it?" If true religion is not to be found in these things, where shall we find any religion save the religion of nature? I freely confess, for my own part, that if these things are not true religion, I know not what it is, either in theory or by experience. But who is the author of these things, and what are their tendency? Is it not evident that they are from God, and lead directly to God? Who is He that opens the eyes of blind sinners to see their sin and misery by nature? Who awakens those who were at ease in Zion, making them earnestly solicitous to be brought out of the kingdom of darkness into the kingdom of God's dear Son? Who discovers to men the secrets of their hearts, exactly answering to what is written in God's Word concerning them; humbles them at the feet of Divine sovereignty, and brings them to submit to the righteousness of God; opens their eyes to see the glory, all-sufficiency, suitableness, and willingness of the dear Redeemer to save even the chief of sinners who come unto God

by him; giving them a spiritual view of these great truths according to the Scripture, effectually persuading and enabling them to receive him, and rest upon him, and him alone, for salvation, according to the Gospel? Who makes sinners see and feel their spiritual poverty, and mourn under it, and vehemently and insatiably hunger and thirst after Christ and his righteousness, esteeming him as the chiefest among ten thousand, as one altogether lovely? &c, Who opens the eyes of sinners to see the odious nature and deserts of sin, and the real beauty of holiness, and makes them prize, and long, and seek after Christ's whole salvation? Who makes them complain of indwelling sin as their greatest burden, and long for perfect deliverance therefrom, for purity of heart and life? Who changes their tempers so that they come to love and relish those things which once they hated and disrelished, and so *è contra*? Who makes them leave off their former sinful ways, and change their vain companions for the company of those who are most serious and spiritual; makes them delight in and attend diligently and seriously upon ordinances, and yet mourn if they only meet with empty ordinances? &c. Who is the author of these things, but the Eternal, Sovereign, and Almighty Spirit of Grace? for which for ever adored be his holy name.

And what is the natural tendency of these things but to make men holy, perfect and happy, according to the account given us of the recovery of fallen man in the Gospel? If these things are only the effects of an overheated imagination, how shall I be certain of the reality of anything, that I love any person, or delight in anything? But I forbear—only, I would say to those who cavil at or reject these things as the work of Satan, idle dreams, or imagination, Come, taste and see; candidly and impartially examine, and let Scripture be judge. It seems, if they would do thus, their minds would be changed. But perhaps some will say that these things which you have given us an account of, and call a work of God, are right and Scriptural. You have nothing against these things. Well, I have endeavoured to write the truth. I have conversed with the subjects of this work, and am bound in charity to believe what they say

they have been convinced of, upon which their lives were changed; which things I have endeavored to give you an account of. My prayer to God has been, that I might do it with uprightness and sincerity, as in his sight, and I hope I have had in some measure his gracious assistance. May God accept of it as a testimony for him, and accompany it with his blessing, mercifully forgiving me all my infirmities which I have been guilty of in writing it, for his name's sake; and thus desiring your prayers for me, that I may make full proof of my ministry, &c., for my charge, that God would graciously revive and carry on his work here more gloriously — that He would plead his own cause and work when men make void his law. I subscribe myself your younger and unworthy fellow-laborer in the Gospel of the dearest Jesus, JOSIAH CROCKER.

P. S. — I have been in some measure acquainted with the late revival of religion in many other places, — as in Middleborough, both parishes, in Plymouth, some of the parishes in Bridgewater, Raynham, Berkley, Norton, Attleborough, Martha's Vineyard, and other places, — and, as far as I am capable of judging, the revival appears to be the same for substance in every one of these places. They appear to have the same grounds of distress and joy — the same after-complaints and delights, evidencing that it is the same Omnipotent Sovereign and Eternal Spirit of Grace, who is the author of these things, who gives forth his influences to what person or people, and whensoever He will, and none may stay his Almighty hand, or say unto him, what dost thou, or why dost thou thus. The same Spirit our forefathers and we have been praying for. As the personal coming of the Messias in the flesh, which the Jews had been praying and waiting for, was not according to the expectations of the carnal Jews; yea, his own disciples laboured under much ignorance, and had many gross apprehensions of his person, manner of coming, kingdom, &c.; may we not, therefore, justly expect that Christ's coming to his people, according to his promise by his Spirit, though they have been praying for it,

should be mistaken by many of his professed people; John i: 12. We are so prone to limit the Holy One of Israel, through our natural ignorance, pride, &c., that we are for rejecting him when He comes not to us, and works not according to that plan we have laid out in our own minds for him to work by. O, let us judge of God and his works by faith, according to the Scriptures—Yours, &c., JOSIAH CROCKER.

NOTE C. Page 335.

How highly prized was the preaching of Mr. Crocker in the vicinity of Taunton, may be gathered from the affectionate allusions made to him in communications from Middleboro' soon after his arrival in town. Rev. Peter Thacher, Pastor of the church in Middleboro', and son of a minister of the same name in Milton, contemporary with the Danforths of Dorchester and Taunton, in sending an account of an interesting revival of religion in M. to Rev. Mr. Prince, thus writes (Dec. 21, 1741:) "It had been a time of fatal Deadness thro' the town. It was on Tuesday, I bemoan'd my sad case to the neighboring ministers at a public Lecture; proposed a Fast the next week on the Wednesday; and had the ready promise of the company of diverse of them. The Friday after God sent that dear Youth, Mr. Crocker. He preached two sermons; considerable meltings. Saturday morning, preach'd another; after the exercise was over, one cried out bitterly, that affected many. Diverse more were wounded on the Sabbath; the evening after which my room was fill'd with distress'd souls. Next day Mr. Crocker came again and preached. The assembly generally melted, but silent; till, the Blessing given, and we had got without doors, when there were many, I suppose I may say, near one hundred, cried out."

A more minute account of this Revival of Religion was in course of preparation by Mr. Thacher, and partially finished at the time of his death in the early part of 1744. It was printed during that year in Nos. 63, 64 and 65 of the "Christian History." "It had been a long time of deadness," writes Mr.

Thacher. "In the beginning of October, (1741) I proposed a day of prayer. This was our errand to the Throne of Grace, to ask the outpouring of the Spirit on this dry Fleece. That Week some of my lately awakened Brethren obtained a visit from the Rev. Mr. Crocker: they appointed a Lecture for him on Friday, which pleased me to hear of on my Return from my journey. He preached next morning. One cried out. The little Assembly was struck with Awe and Seriousness, which gave some Hopes of a Revival. He promises a visit on Monday; of this public Notice was given the next day, the Sabbath. All that Day my Hearers seemed very attentive, and some Meltings. The next Day, being the 23d Day of November, 1741, Mr. Crocker came. We began about one. He preach'd from Rom. 8: 1. This he opened largely, giving the characters of them that were in Christ; and infer'd the misery of those, who found not the characters in themselves of their being in Christ; there was nothing but Condemnation for them, showing what that Damnation was, &c. After Sermon, there was an Exhortation deliver'd. Many now melted down, After the Blessing, the People generally stayed; till some cried out with Terror, which flew like Lightning into every Breast; I suppose none excepted. I have written accounts of seventy-six that Day struck, and brought first to inquire what they should do to escape Condemnation. This Inquiry awakened many. There were a Number of Professors of Religion that Day, whose Lamps went out; they discovered there was no Oil of true Grace in them. There were four Persons, that this Day being left alone in the several Houses to which they belong, were I suppose savingly awakened that Day, by the consideration that they were left. After a Stay with the distress'd, in Public, many followed us Home. Those that we had not opportunity to ask openly the State of their Souls, and the Reason of their outcry, repaired to us. They tell us, they see now, what they never did before — their original Guilt, and actual Sins, and Fear of the dreadful Wrath of the Lord: This filled them with unutterable anguish. They seem'd to be stepping into Hell:

This drew Trembling, Fear and Cries from them. They complain of hard Hearts, and blind Eyes! That they should never see before! O, how dreadful to give the God of Truth the lie! They complain, that they find their Hearts full of Enmity to God, to Christ, to his Holiness, his Word, and Saints. Scores this day told me of their Hatred of me above any one. To hear the young people crying and wringing their Hands, and bewailing their Frolicing and Dancing, their deriding public Reproofs therefor, was affecting. Oh! how heavy now did their Contempt and Neglect of Christ appear to them, as the Effect of these corrupt Principles of Pride, Unbelief and Enmity, and vicious practices of Mirth and Jollity. Their mouths are at once filled with arguments to justify God in their Eternal Damnation, and condemn those Principles and Practices they had been ruled by and led into, and this from Scripture. This the peculiar work of the Spirit, to convince of Sin and Unbelief. Well, the next Evening, we had another Lecture. Tho' an excessive Rain, yet many came, and the word was powerful. Thus the Lord began to hear, as soon as 'twas in our Hearts to ask.

From this Time there was an uncommon Teacheableness among my People; Scarce one Word of Counsel seemed lost, or a Sermon in vain. From this time they must have four Sermons in a Week; two Tuesdays, two Thursdays; The Word of the Lord was very precious in those Days. In a few Days from that 23d of November, so greatly to be remembered, there appeared to be above two Hundred awakened."

In the Boston Gazette of Tuesday, May 31, 1743, appeared an "Invitation" in the following Terms: "It is desir'd and proposed by a number of Ministers both in Town and Country, that such of their Brethren as are perswaded there has of late been a happy Revival of Religion, thro' an extraordinary Divine Influence, in many parts of this Land, and are concern'd for the Honor and Progress of this remarkable Work of God, may have an Interview at Boston, the Day after the approaching Commencement." The Invitation gives at greater length

the objects of the meeting, and in conclusion calls upon any ministers who may be providentially detained from the meeting, to "send their Attestations and communicate their Thoughts seasonably in writing."

Agreeable to this "Invitation," nearly One Hundred ministers met at Boston, on Thursday, July 7, 1743. Dr. Colman was chosen Moderator, Dr. Sewall, Assistant, Mr. Prince and Mr. Hobby, Scribes. They continued together through Thursday and Friday, and agreed upon a Result, occupying nearly seven pages of the "Christian History" for that year, which was styled as follows: "The Testimony and Advice of an Assembly of Pastors of Churches in New-England, at a Meeting in Boston July 7, 1743. Occasioned by the late happy Revival of Religion in many Parts of the Land. To which are added, Attestations contain'd in Letters from a Number of their Brethren, who were providentially hinder'd from giving their Presence."

Rev. Josiah Crocker of Taunton was a member of that Convention of ministers, and doubtless an interested and active member. He signed the Result, as also, Rev. Samuel Tobey of Berkley. Rev. John Wales, Pastor of the Church in Raynham, sent in his Attestation in a written communication which will appear in another part of this volume. Rev. Mr. Prince, Scribe of the meeting, states through the "Christian History," that "the Number of Pastors subscribing and attesting to a remarkable Revival of Religion in many Parts of the Land, as Published by the Committee of the late Venerable Assembly, was One Hundred and Eleven; to which have been added three more communicated to us since, in all, One Hundred and Fourteen: of which are Two of the Five Congregational ministers in Rhode Island Colony; Nine belong to the Province of New-Hampshire; Twelve to the Colony of Connecticut; the other Ninety-One to the Province of the Massachusetts Bay. Of these One Hundred and Fourteen, there are Ninety-Six, who took their first Degreee of Bachelor of Arts, at one or other of our Colleges above Ten Years ago, besides the Rev. Mr. Moor-

head, and the Rev. Mr. McGregore, who are Gentlemen of a Liberal Education; of these Ninety-Six, there are Fifty-Six, who took their first Degree above Twenty years ago; and of these Fifty-Six, there are Twenty-Six, who took their first Degree above Thirty years ago. And as there had doubtless been many more Attestations from Pastors of Connecticut, if the Proposal which was published had reached them seasonably, so we doubt not but several will hereafter send them, which we shall faithfully communicate.

One of the "Attestations" came from Rev. John Rogers of Ipswich, who writes, that "through Age, and Weakness of Body," he is "unable to travel so far," but is unwilling to allow such an opportunity to pass without signifying his "hearty approbation of the Design of the meeting," as also his "readiness with Heart and Hand to subscribe to the most ample Testimony that may be drawn by a better Pen, for the Purpose named" in the call of the meeting. "Rev. and dear Brethren," continues this Patriarch of the Churches, "I shall on the very Day of your proposed meeting, viz: July 7th, (God continuing my Life to that Day) enter on the 78th year of my age, and in the 54th of my ministry. And now desire, as I have utmost Reason, to bless God, who has given me to see a Day of such marvellous Power and Grace."

Rev. Mr. Thacher, Pastor of the first Church in Middleboro', "being prevented the Opportunity of giving an oral Testimony to the Truth and Reality of the Extraordinary Work of the Lord," sends in his "Attestation," in which he remarks: "There have been about two Hundred in a judgment of Charity savingly wrought on since November 1741. Diverse before, that had been met with under the ministry of the Rev. Mr. Daniel Rogers, and the Rev. Mr. Wheelock, not included in this number. But on one Day in November aforesaid, above Eighty were pricked at the Heart by a Sermon from Rom. 8: 1, had here from the Rev. Mr. Josiah Crocker. Scarce a Sermon delivered after that wonderful Day, but the Hearts of some seem to be reached by Conviction, Conversion, or Conso-

lution. This Revival of the Power of Godliness appears to be the genuine Work of the Holy Spirit accompanying his Word, and in answer to a Spirit of Prayer poured out from God to plead with Faith in Christ for this Good. The above said number is exclusive of many Scores, who have been awakened by the Word in the late Showers, and yet I fear have rested short of Christ, and become secure again."

Note D. Page 335.

The Ms. Sermons of Mr. Crocker were exceedingly brief in their best estate, and are now so worn with age and use, as to render it impracticable fully to transcribe them. There are only two of them in my possession, probably the only ones, with the exception of a still briefer abstract in the hands of Rev. Mr. Brigham, which have survived the waste and wear of time. These were preserved with filial reverence by his youngest daughter, Hannah, the wife of Ralph H. Bowles, Esq., whose son, Leonard Crocker Bowles, has allowed me their temporary use. The first is a double sermon, bearing date, "Sept. 28, 1743," and preached both at Taunton and Raynham, from the words found in "Canticles 6: 10. Who is she, that looketh forth as the morning, fair as the moon, clear as the sun, and terrible as an army with banners?"

The Preacher remarks that these words "were spoken in praise and commendation of the Church, Jehovah's bride, the Lamb's wife, wherein we have an elegant and beautiful description of her in several excellent encomiums, emblems or Similitudes. This is a precious and excellent portion of Sacred Scripture, and gives us a very elegant and lofty, though just impression of the church, as composed of true believers in their militant state." The discussion of the subject extending through several pages is too obscure, to be readily deciphered. Let us thank the Rev. Author however that he has at the very threshold of the discussion, given us a clue to the whole Discourse, and mirrored forth the main points, upon which he pro-

posed to dwell, proving himself, in a single sentence, a sound interpreter of the Canticles, and possessed of the true idea of the Holy Ghost, in the impressive symbols, and delightful imagery of that inimitable Book.

The second, and only remaining Sermon, is in fragments, and founded on "Acts 24: 25." The reasoning of Paul before Felix, the force of truth on that man's mind, and the course he took to rid himself of it. A close examination of the Ms. convinces me, that the Preacher's soul was too full to express itself on paper. He could not stop to write. The pen glided quickly over the page, and left only here and there a mark, a sign, the slightest possible symbol of what the man who held it, meant to do, and with God's blessing, felt he might do. It was one of the sermons, I can easily believe, which, in its extended, extemporaneous form, expanded by the warm heart, and earnest, glowing, fervid speech of young Crocker, moved vast assemblies, and made men cry out, through fear of a coming Judgment.

Note. E. Page 336.

The fervor of the "dear youth," whom the Rev. Mr. Thacher so much loved, displeased some of his people. It is not strange that a world which hated Whitefield so inveterately, should feel some measure of aversion toward one of his warmest friends. If the following paper had not been discovered amongst others which had long slumbered in this town, we might never have known that there were any "aggrieved brethren" to "exhibit their articles of charge" against Mr. Crocker. His answer to these "charges" indicates the author's views of doctrine and of duty, for which he alone is responsible. The document has been very accurately copied for the printer's use, at my request, by Rev. Doct. Jenks of Boston.

To the aggrieved Brethren of the Church of Christ in Taunton, in answer to some articles of charge which they have exhibited against me, dated Sept. 23d, 1745.

Taunton, Dec. 20th, 1745.

BELOVED BRETHREN: — I acknowledge I am bound in duty to GOD and His people, especially the people of my pastoral charge, to endeavor to give them Christian satisfaction in any exception they take against me or my conduct; which I desire GOD may always make me willing and ready to do: therefore, as you having signified your uneasiness and aggrievance at my conduct in several articles exhibited against me under your hands, I would endeavor (GOD's grace assisting) to offer you grounds for Christian satisfaction concerning them — praying the Divine Spirit to fill us with the temper of Jesus Christ, and make us know the Truth as it is in Jesus, and willing to receive it in the love of it. To proceed then: in your introduction you object and say, I may remember that many of you were against my settling here in the work of the ministry, and opposed my ordination in a writing under your hands; and you are sorry that you have reason to tell me, that such has been my conduct since, that not only your uneasiness still remains, but many others are become uneasy also; whereby the peace of the Church and Town is much broken, and the work of religion much obstructed and hindered.

Upon this I would first observe, that there are not so many who have signed the articles of charge exhibited against me, which I am now to consider, as signed against my ordination; and what appears not is not. And as to the broken and divided estate of the church and town, and the work of religion being obstructed, it may be proper for each of us to examine what blameable hand we have had and still have therein. You proceed, and say, I have not only carried myself strange towards those that I apprehended were uneasy with me, and have much neglected them in my visits. Here I acknowledge, through the temptation of the world, flesh, and the devil, I have come short in every part of my ministry; for which I desire to be humbled, and flee to the blood of Christ for pardoning and cleansing day by day. But then, have I not spoken oft to you? Have I not conversed with you when I have had opportunity? And as for

my much neglecting of you in my visits, I say I appointed to catechise the children at two of the houses of those that appeared against me at my ordination — chiefly, because I would not make myself strange towards you, or neglect you in my visits. Moreover, I think I have visited all them that appeared against me (save one,) and some of them often. And did ever any of you or them send for me when sick and I refuse to come — whilst many who have always appeared for me I have seldom if ever visited. I might also mention some reasons why I have not visited you as well as others oftener, but I forbear.

You say further; when any of them that were uneasy with me have come to me to express their uneasiness, instead of giving them satisfactory answers I have risen up to pray over them as unconverted persons. To this I say, that by this paragraph you seem to intimate, that I did not endeavor to give Christian satisfaction to any who were uneasy with me, and came to me to express their uneasiness; but put them off, sometimes at least, by rising up to pray over them as unconverted, &c.; which if you intend, I think you are mistaken. But if you do not intend so, but only what I said to them was not satisfactory, &c., I say, I endeavored to give them Christian satisfaction; and if they were not satisfied with what I said to them, how can I help that? Possibly, the fault was in them. And as to my rising up to pray over them as unconverted, sometimes; I say, that I remember a particular person who came to signify his uneasiness at some things he said I delivered in my preaching, &c., whom I endeavored to answer according to the Scriptures; and, upon further conversation with him, I was jealous lest he was unconverted, and told him my fear, &c. I spake to him about praying, &c. He said he never was against praying; and I prayed with him; and was there any harm in that?

Once also some of you came to me to desire my consent for some minister's preaching a stated Lecture, &c. Thinking we had need of the Divine presence and direction at that time, I offered to pray with you, but you refused; and when you would not consent to join with me in prayer, I proceeded to converse

with you upon your difficulties for some time. I did not offer to pray with you as unconverted persons. And would there have been any hurt in praying together then? Did we not need the Divine presence and direction? And would it not have been proper to have asked it together?

You say further, that my sermons on the Sabbath-days many times appeared to you as unstudied, inconsistent, a mere medley, without any rational order or connection, and consequently unedifying and unprofitable. As for my sermons appearing unstudied to you sometimes; I say, I think it my duty to study my sermons, and I accordingly endeavor it, though sometimes when I have just come off a journey, &c., I have not spent that time in studying them which otherwise I would have done. And I think, when I have been thus hindered in Providence from studying my sermons as usual, I have often found GOD assisting me, and, I believe, blessing my labors to the good of souls. As for their being inconsistent, I must leave that to the judgment of those that have heard me preach from time to time; some of whom, I trust, (to the glory of Divine grace be it spoken,) have received saving advantage by them. And it may be wisdom for those that did not to inquire whether part of the blame may not be laid to their own unbelief.

Further, you say I have in my public sermons and private conversations delivered such strange doctrines, and uttered such unaccountable expressions as have been very grievous and offensive to you as well as some others; and you would take leave particularly to mention some of them which have been offensive. Accordingly, I proceed to consider them.

1. As to the first, second, and thirteenth articles, I only observe at present, that they have been laid in against me before the Council that ordained me, and were not judged a sufficient bar to my ordination. Moreover, the Church have voted themselves satisfied with me for their pastor. For all these articles, I therefore do not think it proper to consider them at this time and in this way.

2. As to the third article, viz: 'If GOD was not,' &c. I

suppose you refer to a sermon I preached upon Psalm 124: 8, wherein, speaking of GOD's allsufficiency to help his people; of the allsufficiency of his grace to pardon their sins; of their murmurings because of delayed mercies; of GOD's patience, &c., I said, as I remember, in these words: it was because GOD was GOD, that He did not send them to hell—for if GOD was not GOD He would send them to hell for their murmurings, &c. I might have added, 'from off those seats they sit on;' not 'with those seats.' I did not think GOD was angry with the seats, and would send them to hell. Now by this phrase I meant, and I think the run of my discourse showed that I meant, as the prophet Hosea, 11: 9, and Malachi 3: 6, and as Moses, when he said, Num. 14: 17, 'LORD, let thy power be great,' and plainly shows, that it is an act of power to pardon sin; and as it is an act of power to pardon sin, so to bear with sinners, &c. None but GOD could bear with such affronts as sinners, yea, his own people offer him, and yet delay the execution of deserved vengeance, &c.

3. As to the fourth article, viz: 'The more good works,' &c., I say, I do not know that ever I used just that phrase. But if I did, I believe I sufficiently explained myself: because I think in that doctrine, with some others, I have endeavored especially to be cautious in delivering myself, as to my opinion in this point. My sermons, and most at least of my hearers can witness, I believe, that I preach agreeable with the Westminster Confession of Faith, chap. 16: 7, and ours, drawn up by the venerable Synod of 1680, chap. 16: 8. And as every thing that an unregenerate man doth is sin, he not doing any thing from a right principle and to a right end; so, the more works he does, though for the matter of them good, the more he sins; nevertheless, his sin would be greater to neglect doing those works which for the matter are good, or to do works which for matter are evil.

4. As to the fifth article, viz: 'Let a man be ever so sincere,' &c., I say, that this article may have a double meaning put upon it—one false, the other true. Wherefore I ask, did I

ever tell you, or my people, that, let a regenerate man be ever so sincere in his desires to be accepted with GOD, he had not one promise, &c.? No, I believe, never—but have always told you and them, that all the promises are yea and amen in Christ Jesus to them, to the glory of GOD: but, as for unregenerate men, consider them with all the moral sincerity of their desires to be accepted with GOD. I know not of any other encouragement they have to wait on GOD in a way of duty for his special grace for acceptance with him, than a 'perhaps,' or 'who can tell?' &c.

5. As to the sixth article, viz: 'That every converted' &c., I say, that I do not know that ever I said so. Indeed I believe, that faith acting on Christ for pardon and acceptance is a sensible, felt act; and I believe, that all who sincerely close with Christ have a greater or less degree of rest, and of felt rest too, according to the degree of their faith, and the strength of its acting on Christ: and said once in fore-cited sermon upon Psalm 124: 8, as I remember (to cut off the false hopes of those who thought they had true faith, and yet never felt it—never felt their souls resting in Christ,) to this purpose; that a converted sinner, coming out of drowning depths for his recovery and resting in Christ for salvation, felt it as sensibly as a man getting out of the water upon a rock felt himself on a rock, or as I felt my feet upon the place where I stood. But then there is a great difference between feeling my faith in Christ, and feeling and knowing that I have some degrees of rest, and knowing the nature and kind of my faith and rest. The person that has faith in Christ and rest in some measure may nevertheless doubt, whether his faith and rest are of the right kind, peculiar to the regenerate, though he feels his faith, and feels and knows that he has some degree of rest. But how? say you. Because there is a difference between a person feeling his soul resting on Christ by faith, &c., and knowing the nature and quality of his faith and rest in Christ, whether it be such a kind of faith as is particular to the elect regenerate, or whether it be not one that trusts in Christ for the remission of his sins, and life ever-

lasting; may nevertheless doubt whether this persuasion comes from Him that calls him, as I often have observed to you: — though I hold the doctrine of infallible assurance of salvation in this life, and have preached it to my people; and yet how often have I told you and them, that a believer may be in the dark as to his estate, yea, walk in darkness and see no light of comfort, though his doubts as to his state do not arise from this, viz: whether he has had a change passed upon his life and conversation (if he was not strict therein before his conversion,) and also a remarkable change wrought on the very bent and tenor of his mind: but they are from this, viz: whether the change he has experienced is such a change as none but believers experience. And some of you may remember, that when you mentioned something of this article to me, I said to the same purpose as I have now done.

6. As to the seventh article, viz: 'That we must believe,' &c., I say, though I do not remember it, I might use this phrase or sentence, and believe it to be truth; Jesus Christ is GOD, coëssential, coëqual, and coëternal with GOD the Father and GOD the Holy Ghost: Jesus Christ is the object of faith unfeigned, &c. See also Acts 20: 28. 1 John 3: 16.

7. As to the eighth article, viz: 'To assert,' &c., I suppose you refer to a passage in Mr. John Caldwell's sermon upon 'the trial of the spirit,' page 21, which I said, one evening at brother Nathaniel Linkon's, was an Arminian principle. And was I mistaken? I think not. Do they not make the obedience of faith a condition of salvation, &c.? See Dr. Owen's 'Display of Arminianism,' page 351. 'GOD hath appointed the obedience of faith to be the means of salvation. If men fulfill this condition He determineth to save them, &c.' I believe the practice of the moral law is not a necessary condition to salvation. Good works, or the practice of the moral law from right principles and to right ends, are a part of salvation, but [not?] a necessary condition, &c., Titus 2: 11-14. Indeed, new obedience to the moral law will flow from an unfeigned faith in Christ, justifying righteousness, as I told you that eve-

ning, with more to the same purpose. I believed then, and do now, that we are justified by faith alone, without the deeds of the law, Romans 3: 28.; that we are saved not by works of righteousness, &c., Titus 3: 5.; that, should a man die immediately upon his receiving Christ by faith unfeigned, he would be saved; that a sound believer indeed has a new principle of obedience implanted in him by the Divine Spirit; that he is obliged to yield obedience to the moral law as a rule of life, though not that he may be either justified or condemned by it —he being under the law, not as a covenant, but only as a rule of life, a binding rule, &c., &c., &c. And would you know my opinion more fully in this matter, I agree with chap. 11, 16, 19 of the Westminster Confession of Faith, 11, 14, 16, 19 of our Confession of 1680.

8. As to the ninth article, viz: 'Your frequently asserting,' &c., I say, I do not remember my frequent asserting that I believed that not one half of my church were converted. Indeed I have often mentioned Matt. 25, (beginning) to you, and may have expressed my jealousy and fear lest there were not a full half, or not half of my church converted, that you might be stirred up to a critical self-examination, whether you were converted or no—stirred up, not to rest in a form, but to make sure of the power of godliness. Again, I do not remember my using just these words, viz: that I believed that the one half of my people were self-righteous; but it is very likely I have said so, or words to that purpose. And I still believe, that the one half of my people are self-righteous, and that they are ignorant of God's righteousness; and when they seek after any righteousness at all, they go about to establish their own righteousness, and have not submitted to the righteousness of God, &c. And would to God I had Scripture-grounds to think, that there are not above half my people self-righteous. Judging them by their fruits, I think it no breach of charity to think one half of them self-righteous.

Again, I do not remember my using just those expressions, viz: that my people were as bad as the devils, nay, worse than

the devils in hell. But I have said, not only my people, but all men by nature have a devilish nature, the same enmity, for kind, reigning in them as in the devils and damned; that natural men have the devil's image, &c. Indeed their enmity does not act now just as the enmity of the devils and damned, because they are not in total despair, &c. I have also said to this purpose, that unbelievers go beyond the devils in rejecting Christ and his righteousness, &c., for the devils never had the offer. Again, you say that I said, 'that the men of Sodom,' &c. In sermon, having been speaking of the awful sin of rejecting Christ and his righteousness, when applying myself to Christless sinners, I said, to allude to that, even Sodomites will cry out, make room, or way, for Taunton sinners, Gospel sinners; for you will have a lower place in hell than they. And what saith the Scripture? Matt. 11: 20-24. Our rejecting Christ and Gospel-grace aggravates our guilt, and so it will our misery, if we continue to do it till death, beyond those who never heard of Christ, or enjoyed like Gospel-privileges with us, &c.

9. As to the tenth article, viz: 'My endeavoring,' &c., I ask, how you know that the end I purpose in preaching, and preaching earnestly sometimes, is, that my people may cry out, fall down, &c. Have I not told you in public (in order to remove prejudice,) that what I purposed in preaching, and preaching sometimes with earnestness, was, that sinners might be effectually awakened, convinced, humbled, &c.; and not that they might cry out, fall down, &c. But if GOD was pleased to set home truth with such power upon their consciences as that they were constrained to cry out, I desire to submit to his will. Have I not also, more than once, when any have been crying out, &c., desired them, if possible, to refrain their passions, &c.?

Again, how do I endeavor to terrify my hearers, as you call it? Is it not by my setting truth, before them?—and sometimes, through GOD's grace, speaking of Truth with some sense of its infinite importance?—though I have reason to be ashamed and blush before GOD, that I so often speak of Divine truths with so little sense of their vast importance. But you say, that

sometimes I use unwarrantable means to reach the above said ends, &c. To prove this, you mention one evening at Mrs. Tisdale's. To this I answer, as I remember, Mr. Brett had been preaching about the Day of Judgment, and he said in his discourse that he had seen eleven blazing stars, or thereabouts, that morning; which appearance he endeavored to improve to quicken his hearers to prepare for the Day of Judgment, &c. After he had concluded, I gave a word of exhortation, and I believe I mentioned those streams of light I had seen that morning; but did not call them blazing stars, for I did not think they were; but the appearance was strange and awful to me, and I endeavored to improve it in my exhortation, to excite the people to prepare for the Day of Judgment. As I remember, I endeavored to urge truths upon the people's minds, and believe they were accompanied by the power of the Holy Ghost. And, as I remember, there was a stir among the people, &c. Mr. Brett indeed said to me he thought they were blazing stars, but I did not after I had viewed them.

10. As to the eleventh article, viz: 'GOD may,' &c., I say, I know not that I said any such thing. I did believe then, and do believe now, that whomsoever GOD pardons he accepts as righteous in his sight, &c., according as Justification is described in our Shorter Catechism. The sermon you refer to in this article, as I suppose, was from James 5: 16; which sermon I preached twice, because I had heard that some had excepted against, or were stumbled at some things in it, which I apprehend they mistook. In each sermon I endeavored to describe Justification according to the Shorter Catechism. I endeavored to show that there were two parts in Justification, viz: pardon and acceptance: to show the necessity of the passive as well as the active obedience of Christ, to be believed in and imputed to us for our justification in GOD's sight. To show that acceptance as righteous was not contained in pardon by a necessity of nature, I said, GOD might have so dealt with man as to have pardoned him and not have accepted him as righteous, &c., as a prince might pardon a traitor and not receive him into his

special favor. But I said, that now, according as God had determined to deal with sinners according to the Covenant of Grace, whomsoever He pardons He accepts as righteous in his sight, &c. Thus (as I remember) I have given you a representation of the case as it was spoke; to the same purpose as what I find the Rev. Dr. Owen saith on Justification, page 386; as also according to what the Rev. Mr. Stoddard saith in his 'Safety in appearing in Christ's righteousness,' page 45; and I had some reference to what the Rev. Dr. Watts saith in his first sermon on John, the 5: 10, page 20; in twelves.

11. As to the twelfth article, viz: 'You debar' &c., I say, if by debarring you mean my examining such into their Christian experience of a work of grace on their hearts, who offer to join to our communion, and advising them according to the account they give of themselves, then it is true; though I confess I have reason to be humble under want of my greater strictness in examining them, &c. But if by debarring you mean absolutely denying them, I say, I am not conscious of my being guilty herein. Some I have propounded to the Church, and they have been admitted into our communion, whom I did not look on as converted—after I had warned them of their danger, advised them, &c., they insisting on it as their duty, &c.

12. As to the fourteenth article, viz: 'You said that a man is damned for,' &c., I say upon it, if I did express myself just in that manner, or in those words, that I believe I endeavored to teach, that every thing that an unregenerate man does is sin. For the matter of the action, it may be good, and duty; yet because he performs it from a wrong principle, viz: self, and to a wrong end, viz: self, it is sin; and he is by God's law damned for it—condemned, as this word is used, Romans, 14: 23. And if he dies without faith unfeigned in Christ, if he dies in unregeneracy, he will be actually damned for every thing he ever has done. Indeed, the former reason why an unconverted man is damned, or condemned, for praying, and doing actions for the matter of them commanded, is not because he prays, &c., but because he prays &c., not in faith, with an unholy

heart, &c. They that are in the flesh can not please GOD; Romans, 8: 8.

13. As to your conclusion, your objecting my not signing, &c., a paper you brought me, desiring my consent, &c., I say, I did not think it for the glory of GOD to sign to it; neither (as I remember) did any ministers that I conversed with advise me to it. What would have been the consequence of such a way of proceeding?

Thus, Brethren, I have considered, and endeavored to answer your articles of charge, &c., according to truth. May the LORD fill us all with His Holy Spirit, and give us peace founded upon truth and holiness, without which we cannot see the LORD.

Wishing and praying that grace, mercy, and peace from GOD the Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ, may be multiplied to us and all the Churches of our Lord Jesus Christ, I subscribe myself Your Pastor in the LORD,

(Signed) JOSIAH CROCKER.

NOTE F. Page 336.

LATER in Mr. Crocker's ministry, "charges" were preferred not only against his preaching, but against his personal character. These were considered by an Ecclesiastical Council convened at Taunton, Oct. 25, 1763, and a paper containing their proceedings has come down to us, in such an imperfect, mutilated state as to render it nearly useless. From it may be gathered however the general fact, that the Churches represented regarded Mr. Crocker worthy of the continued confidence of his people, although he had on some occasions laid himself open to the charge of a too free use of the cup. He had without doubt, enemies "for righteousness' sake," but whether they said "all manner of evil" against him "*falsely*" is not certain. I am inclined to think that the sixth minister of this town was not, as he ought to have been, a thorough Temperance man. Few indeed were the total abstainers from all intoxicating drinks in that day. The wonder is, that when Ministers and Physicians

in their frequent calls, could hardly enter a house, where there was not a sideboard well stocked with the most tempting drinks, which well-meant hospitality suffered no such guest to decline, that each Profession was not more seriously harmed in its members. The present century claims the honor of originating the Temperance movement. Rev. Doctor Bridgman, Missionary of the A. B. C. F. M. to China, who has recently returned to this country for the benefit of his health, organized the first Temperance society in Taunton not far from twenty-five years ago. The man who *first* signed the pledge of Total Abstinence, on that occasion, then Superintendent of the Trinitarian Congregational Sabbath School, is now living, viz: Dea. Philander W. Dean.

Supplementary Note.

J. Wingate Thornton, Esq., of Boston, sent me the following scrap, illustrative of the state of things in town in 1759, as the proof of the preceding was being returned to the printer:

"*Taunton*, 1759, Aug. 5. Called on *Mr. Crocker*, who informed me that some revival in religion had lately taken place among his people, and that several had been hopefully converted. Desirable, animating news! It is like refreshing water to the thirsty soul."

Rev. Joseph Croswell's *Journal.*